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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

KINSHIP KNOWLEDGE, AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

by

 Stan Cowley

A THESIS

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a number of hypotheses regarding knowledge of kin, most of which were derived from H. H. Adams' study of involvement

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, the feasibility of using a criterion genealogy to permit the for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Kinship Knowledge, An analysis of proportional knowledge of kin, rather than an Empirical Study," submitted by Stan Cowley in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

basic measure of knowledge. It was concluded during the

Abstract

This study had two basic objectives. One was to test a number of hypotheses regarding knowledge of kin, most of which were derived from B. N. Adams' study of involvement with kin. A second objective of this study was to explore the feasibility of using a criterion genealogy to permit the analysis of proportional knowledge of kin, rather than an analysis of number of kin known. All previous studies of kin knowledge have used the number of kin known as the basic measure of knowledge. It was concluded during the course of this study that the use of a criterion genealogy for the calculation of proportion of kin known is quite feasible, though involved from a computer analysis perspective.

The relationships which were supported by the data considered in this study are largely those which have to do with respondent and kin sex, linking kin, and the effects of social mobility. Female respondents were found to know higher proportions of their kin than male respondents. Respondents reported considerably higher knowledge of same-sex kin as compared to cross-sex kin.

It was found that the death of one or both of a respondent's parents was associated with decreases in knowledge. This finding corroborates Adams' finding that parents serve an important linking role between their

children and other kin.

Upward mobility was found to be associated with considerably greater knowledge of kin.

On the other hand, downwardly-mobile respondents were found to know lower proportions of their kin than those whose occupational status was comparable to that of their fathers.

The relationships found by Adams which were not supported in this study were primarily those concerning differences between white and blue collar individuals in their involvement with kin. Thus, white collar individuals were not found to know more kin. No evidence was found that blue collar knowledge of cross-sex kin was less than white collar knowledge of such kin. Finally, white collar kin networks were not found to be more complete for ascending generations than blue collar networks.

The results of this study suggest two directions for further research. One would entail exploring the relationship between kin knowledge and involvement with kin. Further, it would be highly desirable to base a similar study on either matrilineal or bilateral genealogical data for respondents and their spouses. Such data would permit a more adequate investigation of female knowledge of kin.

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Chapter I

Introduction

The purpose of the study outlined here is to investigate factors related to the knowledge which individuals have of their kin. 'Knowledge' refers to awareness of the existence of kin. The minimum amount of awareness of a particular relative which is required in this study is correct knowledge of first name, sex, and relationship category. 'Kin' refers to consanguinal relatives of the respondents.

Information regarding kin knowledge is available from the unpublished results of a questionnaire survey conducted by D. Whiteside. In a related investigation, Whiteside has also sought to determine all of the consanguinal kin, in one line of descent, of the respondents included in the survey. Thus it is possible to ascertain the proportions of kin of various types known by the respondents. The use of such proportions to measure knowledge in the present study is considered to be an important methodological innovation in relation to other studies in which kin knowledge has been measured.

This study will test a series of hypotheses regarding kin knowledge which have received a considerable amount of attention in the literature in recent years. Most of them have been derived from an investigation of urban kin

relationships carried out by B. N. Adams.¹ Adams' study was designed to resolve some important contradictions in the findings of other investigators, and it is therefore rather comprehensive in its consideration of factors which might influence relationships among kin. The present study differs from Adams' in three important respects. (1) Adams was concerned largely with interaction and communication among kin, and not with knowledge. (2) While Adams focused his study solely on urban kin involvement, an attempt is made here to arrive at some tentative generalizations regarding differences between urban and rural individuals with respect to kin knowledge. (3) Adams concentrated on various dimensions of involvement among young adults, their siblings and parents, and first cousins. The present study is largely an examination of factors bearing upon respondents' knowledge of secondary kin, i.e., those exclusive of the families of orientation and procreation of the respondents. Thus more of the analysis has to do with knowledge of parents' siblings, grandparents' siblings, and more distant kin. An important, though exploratory, part of this analysis concerns characteristics of respondents who know especially high proportions of their secondary kin.

The Significance of the Study

The significance of this study can be best understood in the context of other work which sociologists have done relating to kinship. Until the post-war period,

sociologists generally ignored the possible significance of kinship relations in industrial societies, largely because the importance for individuals of contacts with kin outside of the family of procreation was thought to be minimal. In the last two decades a number of studies have indicated that some extra-nuclear familial relationships, particularly those with parents and with adult children, involve much patterned interaction. These same studies have uncovered significant associations between residential mobility, class, social mobility, genealogical distance, and both knowledge of and involvement with kin. Consequently, the present study of kin knowledge will contribute to the accumulated findings having to do with American kin relationships.

In more specific terms, the data presented here contribute to what is known about kin knowledge because of the regional origin of the respondents and the measure of knowledge which is used. Most of the respondents live in the southern United States. This region of the country is represented in the literature by only one systematic empirical study of kin knowledge, despite the social peculiarities of the region and some indications that secondary kin are more frequently regarded as being important than they are in the rest of the country. Another characteristic of this region which makes study of it worthwhile is the fact that the South has undergone urbanization at a much slower rate than the rest of the United States. Consequently, a significant proportion of the respondents live in rural areas.

Almost nothing is known about the amount of kin knowledge typical of the inhabitants of rural regions in the United States.

The measure of kin knowledge which is used in this study is simply the proportion representing kin known by a respondent in relation to the number of kin the respondent has. For technical reasons, kin who are extremely distant genealogically from each respondent are excluded from the calculations. The inclusive limits, taking each respondent as the point of reference, are four generations of removal for descendents (i.e., inclusive of great-grandchildren), four generations for ascendants, and three generations of removal for the descendents of any ascendent. In the latter case, of course, the ascendent is taken as the point of reference from whom degrees of removal are determined.

'Kin' in all cases means consanguinal relatives, from the respondents' point of view. The use of proportions to measure kin knowledge serves to provide a much more accurate indication of it than has been the case in any previous study. The usual procedure has been to obtain genealogical information from respondents and to assume, implicitly, either that the information is complete, or that respondents know roughly the same proportions of kin. Some investigators have been quite assiduous in checking the internal consistency of the knowledge data provided by each respondent. Therefore, some of the available data are probably quite accurate in terms of representing the absolute

numbers of kin known in particular samples. However, no one has yet controlled for variations in sizes of kin groups by relating the number of known kin to the number of 'existing' kin (whether living or dead). It seems essential that this be done prior to analyzing the relationships between other variables and kin knowledge. Otherwise, variations among respondents in size of kin group may obscure such relationships. Use of a proportionsl measure of knowledge also facilitates the identification of respondents who know a relatively high proportion of their secondary kin in particular. The identification of such respondents is important in the present study because their characteristics are examined to see if any unanticipated relationships exist between knowledge of secondary kin, and both respondent and kin characteristics.

From the foregoing discussion it should be apparent that this is in large part a replication of previous empirical studies. It is extensively informed by one of these in particular, that of Adams. It should provide some new information about kin knowledge. The theoretical basis for the hypotheses tested in the study is somewhat eclectic, and this directly reflects the perspective taken by Adams in his monograph as well as the kinds of conclusions regarding American, Canadian, and British kinship structure which have been reached by other investigators. They all point to the relative institutional weakness of kinship in American, Canadian, and British society and the necessity to consider

social and economic variables other than those having to do with kinship specifically in constructing adequate explanations for observed associations among, and knowledge of, kin.

Terminology

Since many of the terms in this study either are infrequently found in the sociological literature or are used here in a special sense, definitions are provided for them.

Kin network. A kin network, following Adams' usage, refers to all of the kin known by a given respondent.²

Kindred. This term refers to the total aggregate of kin which a respondent has, regardless of whether he knows them or not. In this study, the application of the term is generally limited to consanguinal paternal or maternal kin, depending upon which parent links the respondent to one of the unrestricted descent groups described below.³

Ego. This Latin personal pronoun refers to an individual who is the point of reference among a given group of kin, and with reference to whom kinship terms are assigned to other members of the group.

Consanguinal kin. These are individuals who are biologically related to a given individual. Since this study is concerned almost exclusively with consanguinal kin, they are usually referred to just as 'kin.'

Affinal kin. These are individuals related to a

person by marriage.

Ascending and lateral kin. Ascending kin are individuals of generations previous to ego's, while lateral kin are those of the same generation.

Unrestricted descent group. This term refers to all the descendants of an individual. The genealogies which represent all the kin respondents could have known in this study describe unrestricted descent groups. There are three of them, corresponding to the three brothers who are the first American ancestors of the respondents and the one line of their consanguinal kin discussed in this study.

Family. This term refers to the nuclear family composed of parents and children. In phrases such as 'respondent's family,' the reference is to the family of procreation in which the respondent is a parent.

Kin of orientation. These are ego's parents and siblings, i.e., other members of ego's family of orientation.

Secondary kin. This term refers to those kin exclusive of members of an individual's families of orientation and procreation.

Connecting relative. This denotes a kinsman who establishes or maintains contact between kin who otherwise would not be in association. The term is normally used in this study to refer to individuals who act at least to transmit knowledge of kin to other kin, regardless of whether or not interaction among such individuals also occurs. The term kinkeeper is almost synonymous, but

possesses stronger connotations of a definite role, the performance of which involves linking kin in some fashion.⁴

Patterned contact. This term refers to recurrent interaction or communication among kin.⁵

Kin knowledge. Kin knowledge is awareness of the existence of kin. 'Knowledge' usually is treated as a nominal variable in this study so that respondents either 'know' kin or do not 'know' them. Thus a phrase like 'greater kin knowledge' refers to knowledge of a larger number of relatives, or a larger proportion of them. Where it has been necessary to refer to variations in the number of characteristics of a person known to a relative, reference is made to the degree of acquaintance with kin.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter two of the thesis contains a review of the literature which relates to kin knowledge and kin involvement. The findings of Adams' study are discussed at some length in terms of the bearing these have on variables which affect kin knowledge. The hypotheses which are tested in this study are presented at the conclusion of this chapter.

Chapter three describes the sample and the data which are employed in the study, and the procedures which were originally used to collect the data. The latter part of chapter three concerns the procedures which have been used to put the data in a form which makes testing of the

hypotheses in this study possible, as well as a description of the tables which were used to present sample characteristics, kin network characteristics, and to test the hypotheses. The chapter is concluded by an explanation of the tests used to determine whether or not the data support the hypotheses.

Chapter four is a presentation and interpretation of the findings of the study. In particular, of course, the findings were examined to determine if they do or do not support the hypotheses advanced in this study. Other significant aspects of the data which have come to light are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five presents, in conclusion, the implications which the findings have in relation to other studies of kin knowledge and in relation to further research which could be done in the same area.

Footnotes

¹Bert N. Adams, Kinship in an Urban Setting (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968).

²Adams, op. cit., p. 211.

³Elizabeth Bott, Family and Social Network (London: Tavistock Publications, 1957), p. 117.

⁴The terms 'connecting relative' and 'kinkeeper' apparently were respectively first used by Elizabeth Bott, and Joan Aldous. See Elizabeth Bott, op. cit., p. 139, and "Intergenerational Visiting Patterns: Variations in Boundary Maintenance as an Explanation," Family Process, Vol. 6 (September, 1967), p. 242.

⁵Adams, op. cit., pp. 54-55

Chapter II

The Theoretical and Empirical Context of the Study

While social scientists have devoted a considerable amount of attention to various aspects of the nuclear family in Western society, until the post-war years they expressed little interest in investigating the possible significance of relationships between members of nuclear families and more distant kin. Anthropologists had described and analyzed kinship systems in operation in preliterate and non-industrialized societies, but they had not attempted similar investigations in industrialized societies.

Many sociologists also assumed that relationships with kin outside of the nuclear family were without particular importance, especially in urban areas where, it was sometimes supposed, primary relationships were of lesser importance to individuals than was the case in rural areas.¹ Efforts to test this assumption seem to have been undertaken with the adoption in the discipline of a broader perspective, which treated more of the institutional implications of kinship structure rather than the social-psychological dimensions of relationships within the nuclear family. This shift in emphasis is exemplified by Talcott Parsons' essay, "The Social Structure of the Family," which was published in 1949.² Parsons describes the American kinship system as being open with respect to mate-choice, multilinear with

respect to the equal importance ascribed to lines of descent, conjugal with respect to the role-relationship which is ascribed the most importance within the system, and neolocal with respect to residence.³ He considers the relative structural isolation of the typical urban middle-class family to be a direct manifestation of these characteristics. Parsons then argues that this isolation is "the mechanism for freeing the occupation-bearing and competing member of the family (i.e., the father) from hampering (kinship) ties which would both inhibit his chances and interfere with the functioning of the system."⁴ The kind of isolation to which Parsons is referring must be understood in the context of his comments about ties to kin which would indicate the absence of isolation. He mentions status interests in an extended kinship system, kinship-bound occupational activity, and obligational ties to kin which would inhibit residential mobility.⁵ Furthermore, Parsons' analysis is addressed to relationships between kinship and other institutions in American society as a whole. Thus he does not consider how 'isolated' a family has to be in order to conform to what he calls the 'fully developed type' of urban middle-class family, because this issue is not central to his main thesis. His critics have tended to assume that by isolation he meant the essential absence of obligational and interactional ties.⁶

Subsequent research has not necessitated a revision of Parsons' structural description of the American kinship system in a cross-cultural perspective. This would have been

unlikely in any event because of the generality of Parsons' initial description, much of which is based upon an analysis of kin terminology. The degree of isolation of nuclear families from their kin solely within given industrial societies, and especially in urban areas, has been an issue which originally stimulated most of the research on kin involvement and kin knowledge. Initially one of the problems which stimulated interest was that of the extent to which urban-dwellers maintain associations with their kin.

Thus Axelrod, in an investigation employing an urban sample, found that the informal relationships maintained with kin were regarded as being more important than those maintained with non-kin.⁷ Greer found that contacts with kin were high among both urban and 'low-urban' individuals.⁸ In one of the more narrowly-focused studies of the early 1950's, Sussman found that most of the parent-child relationships in a white, upper-middle-class New Haven, Connecticut sample involved a considerable amount of mutual aid, with parents providing direct and indirect financial assistance to their married children, and both parents and children providing personal service to each other in the event of illness.⁹ As a consequence of these and similar studies, two facts became rather clearly established: (1) contacts of various kinds with kin are important for urbanites, and (2) the mutual involvement of parents with their married children, however involvement is defined, is generally stronger than that between any other categories of adult

relatives of those living in separate households.^{10,11}

Connecting Relatives

The research reported subsequent to Sussman's initial article in 1953, taking that as an arbitrary reference point, gradually established other important characteristics of urban kin involvement. One major finding is that mothers in particular, and both parents to a lesser degree, typically play a highly important role in maintaining at least a minimum level of knowledge in their own family of the activities of kin. Mogey noted this in his study of English workers' families.¹² Young and Willmott found in their urban English working-class sample that the death of a mother often resulted in a loss of contact between her children and her own siblings.¹³ Cumming and Schneider were so struck by the degree of female solidarity in their investigation of a small random sample in Kansas City that they proclaimed that the American kinship system is 'gynefocal.'¹⁴ Robins and Tomanec, investigating this phenomenon more closely among a fairly young urban sample chosen on a convenience basis, concluded that (1) female relatives were felt to be subjectively closer than male relatives, (2) maternal relatives were felt to be closer than paternal relatives.¹⁵ The latter two studies may seem to reflect departures from the norm of bilaterality, which specifies that each side of the family is to be regarded as having the same importance within the nuclear family. The

findings of Cumming and Schneider, and Robins and Tomanec, do not have to be interpreted to mean this, however. Adams concluded from his data and that of others that bilaterality is maintained, but that women are more involved in kin affairs because there is a general expectation in American urban culture that they will represent the nuclear family in kin activities, and also because mother-daughter and sister-sister relationships are typically stronger than those of any other parent and child combinations.¹⁶ Adams found considerable evidence that the solidarity of these relationships results from convergence of the roles of mother-daughter and sister-sister pairs, where both individuals typically become housewives.¹⁷ He argues that the potentially highly disruptive effects of social mobility have particularly little effect upon these relationships during the course of the lives of their participants because of the cross-stratum similarity of roles, as compared, for example, to cross-stratum disparities in the kinds of occupational roles which may be evident between two brothers, one of whom has been upwardly mobile.¹⁸

These two factors--the 'representation' expectation and role convergence--are assumed to account for both greater female involvement in kin affairs, and greater knowledge of kin on the part of females.¹⁹ The implications of these findings of Adams' for the present study are obvious: the women in the sample should know a higher proportion of kin than the men. In addition, if women tend to act as family

representatives, as Robins and Tomanec, Adams, and Garigue suggest, then the death of an individual's mother should be associated with a greater loss of knowledge of kin than the death of a father.²⁰ Such loss, furthermore, should presumably be greater for the male respondents, who have likely not assumed the 'kinkeeper' and 'family representative' roles which their mothers held.²¹

Class Differences

Various investigators have reported the effects of upward mobility upon nuclear family solidarity. A few have drawn systematic comparisons between social strata. Since Adams' study was designed in part to fill in many of the gaps in knowledge of urban working-class kin relations, his results will be discussed, after a brief description of what has gone before.

The most thorough initial investigations of urban working-class kin relations in the post-war period were done by the British anthropologists Firth, and Young and Willmott. In relation to the present study, the most significant contribution of Firth was his distinction between intimate, effective, and nominal kin, in terms of decreased knowledge of more distant kin, as well as decreased primariness in one's relationships with them.²² Firth also collected some interesting data concerning the number of kin known to his informants which is presented later in this chapter. Young and Willmott found that upward mobility of working-class

males reduced their closeness to their fathers, but that such did not occur for any other parent-child combination.²³

The American studies of kin involvement and knowledge until recently have typically used middle-class samples because of the predominance of the issue of degree of involvement with kin among 'typical' urbanites. Parsons, it will be recalled, regarded the 'isolated' middle-class family as being most compatible with the American occupational structure. The fact that convenience samples are usually middle-class is probably also responsible for the observed class bias in samples. The work done by Litwak on the effects of occupational mobility in 1960 constituted an exception to this trend. Litwak found in a survey of middle class Boston married women that upward mobility, defined in terms of their husbands' occupation, had no effect upon extended family contact.²⁴ Aldous found essentially the same thing in a survey of seventy-nine largely working-class three generation 'lineages' in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.²⁵

The major differences Adams found between the networks of stable working-class and stable white collar respondents in his sample were that the working-class networks were somewhat smaller, though residentially more concentrated, and that such kin were apparently of somewhat more objective importance than those of white collar respondents.²⁶ In addition, Adams found a possibly significant difference between working-class men and women in their involvement with kin. While women engaged in extensive patterned contact with

their parents, men were 'extremely unlikely' to engage in any patterned social activity with their own parents.²⁷ A similar difference in behaviour was reported by working-class respondents whose parents were residentially distant. Adams admits to a lack of confidence in the generalizability of these particular findings, however. He suggests that, within his sample, (1) economic necessity may produce more frequent contact among females; (2) that many working-class males who were proximate to their kin may not like them, and (3) that working-class couples may sometimes migrate primarily to escape from unsatisfactory relationships with their kin. Whether this latter conclusion is warranted or not, Adams did find that working-class residential migration had resulted in 'virtual isolation' from all kin except parents.²⁸ The effect of such isolation on knowledge of kin should be evident in comparisons between residentially stable and mobile working-class individuals. Unfortunately, in this study no effective control can be placed upon time of migration, in relation to the family life-cycles of respondents and their kin, because the necessary data is not available.

Another effect of migration upon working-class knowledge should be evident in the data used in the present study. Adams found a marked separation by sex in working-class kin associations which he did not find in the middle-class portion of his sample. That is, men generally were in association primarily with male paternal kin, while

women were in association or contact with female maternal kin. It is difficult to examine the possible effect of this phenomenon upon knowledge here because (1) most of the respondents are male, and (2) the data for most of the female respondents concern paternal kin. However, Adams also found that working-class women, again unlike middle-class women, generally correspond only with their parents and not with their husband's parents under conditions of residential separation. Assuming that such communication is reciprocated, and given the greater propensity of women to correspond, a working-class man's knowledge of kin affairs would thus be dependent largely upon his own parents, especially his mother. Because of looser cross-sex ties among working-class individuals, one might therefore expect less correspondence between working-class men and their mothers, and thus less knowledge of kin than among working-class females.

The Effects of Social Mobility Upon Relationships With Parents and Siblings

Adams' findings regarding the effects of mobility upon relationships among members of the nuclear family can be summarized as follows:

- (1) upward mobility results in no decrease in affectional closeness between parents and children;
- (2) downward mobility results in greater affectional distance between parents and children;

- (3) mutual mobility of siblings, whether upward or downward, results in increased affectional closeness between them;
- (4) differences between siblings with regard to mobility results in greater affectional distance between them. Adams notes, however, that a non-mobile sibling may express a non-reciprocated identification with a mobile sibling.²⁹

It would clearly be unreasonable to assume that such differences in subjective closeness would be reflected by differences in knowledge of each other on the part of parents and siblings except in extreme cases. As Adams suggests, some contact, however unpatterned and infrequent, is maintained among affectionally distant members of the family of orientation, even though migration causes a sharp diminution in contact for working-class families.³⁰ The focus of the present study is upon knowledge of kindreds rather than degree of acquaintance with kin, and upon knowledge of secondary kin. In this context the variations in contact frequency and affectional closeness among parents and their adult children which have been observed elsewhere are of significance chiefly insofar as they reflect differences in the 'efficiency' with which these kin may act as connecting relatives to other kin. One could reasonably assume, for example, that white collar children of the upwardly mobile are more likely to have some knowledge of the children of their parents' white collar siblings than the children of

their parents' blue collar siblings.³¹

Class Differences in Involvement with Secondary Kin

Adams' findings regarding involvement with secondary kin are consistent with the general associational preferences he established for blue and white collar members of his sample. Thus, he found that:

- (1) blue collar respondents were more likely to choose as a 'best-known' cousin, a child of a same-sex parents' sibling than were white collar respondents. This is consistent with his finding of a greater separation between sexes in associational activity among blue collar respondents.
- (2) Cross-sex cousins were least likely to be chosen; of these, cross-sex cousins were more frequently chosen if they were mothers' sisters' children.
- (3) White collar respondents of either sex were more likely to choose a cousin related through their mother than were blue collar respondents. This, Adams notes, is consistent with the greater involvement of middle class females in kin affairs.
- (4) mothers' sisters' daughters were chosen by a higher proportion of female respondents than any other kind of cousin by either males or females.³²

Again, these findings relate to degree of acquaintance rather than degree of knowledge. In addition, their significance must be judged in the light of the fact that

Adams found patterned contact, in contrast to choice of 'best known' cousin, to be not associated with respondents' or cousins' stratum, sex, or mobility characteristics.³³ He argues basically that involvement with cousins is determined primarily by three factors: (1) similarity, which accounts for the predominance of same-sex choices; (2) opportunity, in terms of residential proximity during childhood, and (3) greater female (parental or sororal) involvement in kin relations, as well as greater closeness between these kin resulting from role convergence in adulthood.

In any case, a check of proportional knowledge may reveal more than is already known, especially in terms of providing a better indication of the role played by aunts and uncles as connecting kin. Regarding these, Adams observes that relations were likely to be closer with aunts and uncles than with cousins among the middle class members of his sample. The opposite was found to hold for the blue collar respondents.³⁴ The latter finding is supported by Garigue's observation of extensive lateral contact among his working class French-Canadian sample.³⁵ Adams also found some evidence, which he does not describe in much detail, indicating that grandparents are likely to be 'a focal point for kin interaction' if they are still living.³⁶ This is certainly plausible, given the relative strength of parent-child bonds. Grandparents should act as connecting relatives between their siblings' families and their children generally. Evidence on this point is scanty, however, and the

investigation of knowledge proposed here may provide some indirect evidence of the role played by both ascendants and their lateral kin in preserving at least knowledge about kin.³⁷

The Effects of Upward Mobility Upon Relationships with Secondary Kin

Adams argues quite emphatically that upward mobility has little net effect upon at least some aspects of relationships with kin. By this he means two things. First, the attitudinal and interactional data he collected indicated that the parents of the members of his sample normally remained close to upwardly mobile children because they generally approved of upward mobility, which represents successful conformance to dominant occupational values. Parents were also close to such children because parental encouragement and aid was usually of primary importance in enabling children to be upwardly mobile.³⁸

Second, considering the kin networks of his respondents, Adams observed that the upwardly-mobile had the largest networks of any of the social stratum-mobility categories.³⁹ This finding is somewhat unexpected, in view of both previous studies and the fact that the upwardly-mobile are also more geographically mobile. Adams suggests that this may be explained by Litwak's concept of status gain and deference.⁴⁰ That is, the upwardly mobile may maintain at least some contact with lower-status relatives because of the deference which they receive from them, which increases

the status of the mobile person within his kin group.⁴¹ This is predicated on the assumption that interaction with kin tends to be valued for its own sake, which may well be true especially of middle-class females.⁴² Such a conjecture cannot be directly tested in the study proposed here. The possible effects of mobility on extensiveness of knowledge can be investigated, however, for the various categories of secondary kin.

Finally, Adams suggests that in addition to maintaining a limited acquaintance with stratum-of-origin secondary kin, the upwardly-mobile may establish associations with white collar kin in their kindreds at some point in the mobility process. Thus, Adams suggests that, at the least, although upward mobility may result in changes in the secondary kin with whom the upwardly mobile associate, the number of stratum-of-origin kin who are dropped from a network is not greater than the number of stratum-of-arrival kin with whom associations are developed. Adams suggests, though not explicitly, that there is sufficient class heterogeneity in the 'initial' networks of most individuals so that they can use parents or higher-stratum kin as connectors for expanding their networks by becoming acquainted with more higher-stratum individuals. He does not elaborate upon the specifics of this latter process.

Kin Network Studies

Several studies have been done where respondents

have been asked to enumerate their kin. Generally the purpose of this has been to provide a basis for a gross analysis of kin by means of a few nominal categories such as 'lateral-ascending' to supplement or confirm regularities uncovered in the analysis of responses to questions concerning interaction with, and attitudes towards, kin. Network data have not been used, as they will be in the present study, for making detailed inferences regarding the extensiveness of kin knowledge. It is important to examine the studies which have included the collection of network information for two reasons. (1) They provide an indication of extensiveness of kin knowledge and kin involvement; (2) they indicate the methodological problems involved in utilizing network data.

The number of kin listed by various samples varies greatly, as Table 1 indicates. Accounting for the inter-sample variability is not easy. Some of it is obviously due to the researchers' definition of sample unit and of what persons constitute kin. Thus one reason Leichter and Mitchell's small sample had such huge networks is that the sample unit was a husband and wife pair rather than a single individual.⁴³ The studies also vary according to whether or not affines of various types and descendants were considered as admissible kin. Third, the average ages of the samples varies. Codere's and Reiss' college students obviously could list few descendants of their own and few descendants of lateral kin, while Adams' middle-aged

Table 1

Kin Network Characteristics for Several Samples

Author	Sample Mean	Sample Range	Class-Ethnicity
Adams	38.8	2 - 585	white middle and blue collar southern young adults
Codere	33	11 - 73	white upper-middle-class students
Cumming and Schneider	--(151) ^a	34 - 280	five respondents from a random sample of metropolitan Kansas City adults
Firth	20.5 ^b	-----	urban English working class adults
Leichter and Mitchell	241	100 - 587	blue and white collar urban Jews
Piddington	256	-----	migrant urban French-Canadian adults
Reiss	13	-----	middle-class white Boston students and adults
Robins and Tomanec	18.6	3 - 70	urban adult convenience sample, age range 18 - 45.

a Only the median number of kin was given in this study.

b This figure represents only intimate and effective kin recognized.

respondents could potentially list many. Fourth, the minimal amount of knowledge of a relative required of a respondent by the researcher for inclusion in the respondent's network varied. Codere was quite restrictive, requiring knowledge of both names, including maiden names for married relatives, as well as a plausible set of genealogical connections to the respondent. These connections were checked for consistency against other information also provided by the respondent.⁴⁴ Fifth, the studies varied in terms of whether or not they distinguished between knowledge of and recognition of relatives. Schneider has found compelling evidence that an individual's network of known kin is usually larger than his network of 'ordinarily' recognized kin. That is, he found that individuals, when asked to list their kin, often omitted those secondary kin with whom they do not have a significant amount of contact, or whom they do not like.⁴⁵ Leichter and Mitchell note that after having their respondents provide genealogies, they were invariably able to get them to remember more by asking them which relatives they had met in specific situations involving kin interaction.⁴⁶

Finally, the ethnicity of the samples clearly is responsible for the larger inter-sample variations in kin network size. The largest average networks were reported for Garigue's and Piddington's French-Canadian samples, and for Leichter and Mitchell's cross-stratum Jewish sample. The latter included in-laws. Even if allowance is made for this by dividing the average sample size in half, however,

the likely average per individual is still well over one hundred, which is larger than that of five of the seven other samples.

Therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that ethnicity, respondent age, and the nature of the methods used to collect network data probably are responsible for most of the inter-sample variations in network size.

Other Network Dimensions

There is a reasonable amount of uniformity in the general network characteristics reported in all of these studies. Thus, knowledge of ascendent generations decreases markedly above the grandparental level. No marked matrilineal bias has been observed in knowledge per se, which constitutes evidence for the generality of the norm of bilaterality. In addition, in at least two of the studies, Codere's and Adams', considerable variation was reported within each sample with regard to the categories of secondary relatives which were reported in the greatest number.^{47,48} This appears to reflect the absence of prescribed preferences for contact with secondary kin. It may also reflect variations in the numbers of secondary kin of a given type in respondents' families.

It is interesting to note that Adams reported the highest upper network size range limit of the studies which excluded affines. In fact, he found that about five percent of his large sample knew more than one hundred kin.⁴⁹ It is

unlikely that any of these networks were restricted to cousins, parents' siblings, and direct ascendants (descendants were excluded by Adams). In other words, a high proportion of the kin in these networks must be secondary kin. Adams does not attempt to explain why some of his respondents knew so many kin, beyond suggesting that they are strongly oriented towards involvement with secondary kin.⁵⁰ The present study will seek to explore this phenomenon in two ways. Since a genealogy compiled from multiple sources is available which includes the respondents and their kin, it is possible to control for variations in the number of kin of given types by working with figures for the proportional knowledge of kin rather than with figures representing just known kin. This will eliminate the possibility that two individuals with knowledge of the same proportions of their kin groups could be regarded as having different degrees of knowledge because of large differences between their networks in average family size.

In addition, respondents with an especially comprehensive knowledge of their families will be singled out to determine if they have special characteristics not possessed by the rest of the sample.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses presented below will be tested as part of this study. Most of them are derived from the relationships between kin involvement and several variables

which were discussed by Adams. Other relationships of apparent significance which are found in the data will also be discussed. The reader should note that 'knowledge' is used as an abbreviation of the cumbersome phrase 'proportional kin knowledge' in all of these hypotheses.

Hypothesis I: the knowledge of ruralites is greater than the knowledge of urbanites.⁵¹

This hypothesis was derived from various unsupported conjectures in the literature. It will be tested here because of the absence of research on rural kinship in American society. It is not closely related to the rest of the hypotheses considered in this study.

Hypothesis II: the knowledge of 'southerners' is greater than the knowledge of individuals living in other regions of the country.⁵²

This hypothesis is based on speculations in the literature that involvement with secondary kin might be more prevalent in the southern states because of local peculiarities in social organization.

Hypothesis III. the knowledge of females is greater than the knowledge of males.

Since the greater involvement of females in kin affairs has been confirmed by virtually all empirical studies, this hypothesis is intended more as a validator of the data than as a test of the relationship itself.

IIIa: knowledge of same-sex kin is greater than knowledge of cross-sex kin.

This hypothesis will be tested to determine whether or not sex as a 'similarity' variable is associated with knowledge of kin. The underlying rationale, derived from Adams' study, is that same-sex kin should have more interests in common and therefore should interact more with each other or, at the least, maintain more interest in each other's existence.

IIIb: the knowledge of white collar individuals of cross-sex kin is greater than the knowledge of blue collar individuals of cross-sex kin.

This hypothesis is meant to test Adams' assertion that blue collar kin relations tend to be largely with same-sex kin, as contrasted with white collar kin relations.

IIIc: the knowledge of white collar individuals of cross-cousins of either sex is greater than the knowledge of blue collar individuals of cross-cousins. Conversely, the knowledge of blue collar individuals of parallel cousins is greater than the knowledge of white collar individuals of parallel cousins.

Hypothesis IIIb does not take into account the sex of connecting kin. Adams' findings suggest that blue collar parents will act as more efficient kin connectors with, for example, the children of parents' siblings who are the same sex as the parents. His findings do not indicate that such a relationship should exist for white collar individuals.

IIId: female knowledge of first cousins is greater than male knowledge of first cousins.

IIIe: female knowledge of parent's sisters' children is greater than female knowledge of parent's brothers' children.

IIIIf: female knowledge of female first cousins is greater than female knowledge of male first cousins.

These hypotheses were derived from Adams' findings regarding choice of best-liked cousin made by the respondents in his sample. They all refer, of course, to aspects of the high solidarity which Adams noted among female kin linked by other females. IIIIf is a special case of IIIB. IIIId of course is the same as the main hypothesis of this section, III. Thus the question which must be resolved separately is whether or not the sex of the presumably linking kin is associated with female knowledge of cousins.

Hypothesis IV: the knowledge of individuals with living parents is greater than the knowledge of individuals with no living parents.

This hypothesis is intended to determine whether or not the respondents' parents played a major role as kin connectors.

Hypothesis V: the knowledge of white collar individuals is greater than the knowledge of blue collar individuals.

This hypothesis was derived directly from Adams' findings regarding the relative average sizes of the kin networks of white and blue collar individuals. The sub-hypotheses in this section are derived from Adams' findings

regarding interaction with, and liking for, kin.

VIa: white collar individuals' knowledge of ascending kin is greater than blue collar individuals knowledge of such kin.

VIb: the knowledge of blue collar individuals of parent's siblings' children is greater than the knowledge of white collar individuals of parent's siblings' children.

These two hypotheses are intended to determine if the 'shape' of white and blue collar kin networks in this study differ in a way similar to those in Adams' study. Adams found some evidence that relationships with lateral kin are more important for blue collar individuals.

VIc: the knowledge of white collar individuals who have been upwardly mobile is greater than the knowledge of white collar individuals whose social status has remained stable.

This hypothesis was derived from one of Adams' findings. Contrary to a supposition prevalent in the literature, he discovered that upward mobility was associated with an apparent increase rather than a decrease in kin network size for his sample.

VIId: the knowledge of downwardly mobile blue collar individuals is less than the knowledge of either stable blue collar or stable white collar individuals.

This hypothesis was basically derived from Adams' finding that the downwardly mobile are apparently alienated from their kin and have relatively small kin networks. As

phrased, it assumes the tenability of the main hypothesis of this section.

Hypothesis VII: residentially mobile individuals know a lower proportion of their kin than do residentially stable individuals.

VIIa: for residentially mobile individuals who know a lower proportion of kin than do residentially stable individuals, the difference in knowledge between the mobile and the stable is greater for blue collar than for white collar individuals.

The two hypotheses in this section concern the effect upon knowledge of kin of residential mobility, which has been found to affect opportunities for interaction. The second hypothesis was derived from Adams' finding that middle-class individuals make use of long-distance means of communication to maintain contact with their kin while working-class individuals do not, or do so to a much lesser extent.

These hypotheses concern suspected relationships between knowledge of kin and a number of variables regarded as significant by Adams as well as other investigators. They are also considered by the researcher to be highly amenable to test with the available kin knowledge and genealogical data.

Footnotes

¹Louis Wirth is usually cited as the principle spokesman for this point of view. See Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44 (July, 1938), pp. 1-24.

²Talcott Parsons, "The Social Structure of the Family," as contained in Ruth Nanda Anshen, ed., The Family: Its Function and Destiny (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), pp. 241-275.

³Parsons, op. cit., pp. 242, 248.

⁴Parsons, op. cit., p. 263.

⁵Parsons, op. cit., pp. 255, 263.

⁶Bert N. Adams, Kinship in an Urban Setting (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968), p. 177, pp. 184-185.

⁷Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (February, 1956), pp. 17-18.

⁸Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis," American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (February, 1956), p. 22.

⁹Marvin B. Sussman, "The Help Pattern in the Middle Class Family," American Sociological Review, Vol. 18 (February, 1953), pp. 23-35.

¹⁰Joan Aldous, "Intergenerational Visiting Patterns: Variations in Boundary Maintenance as an Explanation," Family Process, Vol. 6 (September, 1967), p. 242.

¹¹Elaine Cumming and David M. Schneider, "Sibling Solidarity: A Property of American Kinship," American Anthropologist, Vol. 63 (June, 1961), pp. 498-507.

¹²J. M. Mogey, "Changes in Family Life Experienced by English Workers Moving from Slums to Housing Estates," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 17 (May, 1955), p. 126.

¹³Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), p. 59.

¹⁴Cumming and Schneider, op. cit., p. 507.

¹⁵Lee N. Robins and Miroda Tomanec, "Closeness to Blood Relatives Outside the Immediate Family," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24 (November, 1962), p. 343.

¹⁶Adams, op. cit., pp. 20, 89, 120-121.

¹⁷Adams, op. cit., pp. 67-69.

¹⁸Adams, op. cit., p. 172.

¹⁹Adams, op. cit., p. 22.

²⁰Phillip Garigue, "French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life," American Anthropologist, Vol. 58 (1956), pp. 1093-1094.

²¹The term 'kinkeeper' was apparently first used in the literature by Joan Aldous. See Aldous op. cit., p. 246.

²²See Adams op. cit., pp. 17-18, for an adequate description of these terms. The monograph in which Firth initially presented them is not locally available.

²³Young and Willmott, op. cit., p. 67.

²⁴Eugene Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," American Sociological Review, Vol. 25 (February, 1960), p. 14.

²⁵Joan Aldous, op. cit., p. 247.

²⁶Adams, op. cit., p. 31.

²⁷Adams, op. cit., p. 60.

²⁸Adams, op. cit., p. 170.

²⁹Adams, op. cit., pp. 172, 174. These findings are consistent with those reported elsewhere in the literature.

³⁰Adams, op. cit., p. 103.

³¹This should not occur where the parent and siblings are sisters, of course.

³²Adams, op. cit., pp. 138-139.

³³Adams, op. cit., p. 153.

³⁴Adams, op. cit., p. 152.

³⁵Garigue, op. cit., p. 1095.

³⁶Adams, op. cit., p. 134.

³⁷Aldous found that adults with grown children initiated contact with their parents and their children more frequently than either of the other groups did. Thus, grandparents seldom took the initiative in making contacts with their descendents because of infirmity and lack of means of transportation. This suggests that they can usually act as connecting relatives only if their descendents show a strong interest in kin affairs. See Aldous, op. cit.

³⁸Adams, op. cit., p. 90.

³⁹Adams, op. cit., p. 21.

⁴⁰Adams, Ibid.

⁴¹Eugene Litwak, "The Use of Extended Family Groups in the Achievement of Social Goals: Some Policy Implications," Social Problems, Vol. 7 (Winter 1959-60), p. 184.

⁴²Litwak, Ibid.

⁴³Hope Jensen Leichter and William E. Mitchell, Kinship and Casework (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967), p. 91.

⁴⁴Helen Codere, "A Genealogical Study of Kinship in the United States," Psychiatry, Vol. 18 (1955), p. 67, p. 70. Reiss imposed a different sort of restriction which certainly reduced the average network size for his sample. He counted as 'relevant' kin only parents, parents' siblings and their children, grandparents, and children. See Paul J. Reiss, "The Extended Kinship System: Correlates of and Attitudes on Frequency of Interaction," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 24 (November, 1962), pp. 333-339.

⁴⁵David M. Schneider, American Kinship (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 71-74.

⁴⁶Leichter and Mitchell, op. cit., p. 313.

⁴⁷Codere, op. cit., p. 77.

⁴⁸Adams, op. cit., p. 134.

⁴⁹Adams, op. cit., p. 19.

⁵⁰Adams, op. cit., p. 168.

⁵¹A respondent's place of residence was classified as 'rural' if the population was 2,500 or less.

⁵²A respondent was defined as a 'southerner' if he was living within a region the boundaries of which are roughly the same as those of the former Confederate States of America.

Chapter III

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

The Population and the Sample

The population for this study is not readily identifiable because standard random sampling techniques were not used to obtain the sample. This sample consisted of all persons with the surname 'Whiteside' whose names were listed in telephone books of all the major metropolitan areas in the United States in 1967. Questionnaires were sent to the individuals located in this manner. Some provided the names of consanguinal kin who were also sent questionnaires. These two groups of individuals made up a sample consisting of 1038 individuals. Of these, 71.4% (741) returned questionnaires. However, only 45.6% (474) of the total sample returned questionnaires which had been completed sufficiently so that they could be considered usable. 28.6% (299) of the sample did not return a questionnaire at all.

The subsample used in the present study was selected from those respondents who returned usable questionnaires. This subsample was also restricted to those respondents who could be identified as being descendents of one of three Whiteside brothers who emigrated to the British colonies in North America from Ireland in the middle of the eighteenth century. This restriction was imposed because a complete

enumeration of consanguinal kin, in the form of a genealogy compiled by Whiteside, was available only for these respondents. Such an enumeration was necessary for this study because it provided the base figures necessary for converting the absolute numbers of kin known by respondents into proportions of kin known.

Since the original sample was chosen on a convenience basis, neither it nor the subsample employed in this study is representative of a specifiable population. Nevertheless, an examination of the respondents included in the subsample does indicate the kind of people in the general population whom they resemble. Most of them live in the southern and 'border' states, or the southwestern United States.¹ They are predominately male, have white collar occupations, live in urban places, and are middle-aged to elderly. The average age for the groups is approximately fifty-two years.

Data Collection Procedures

The original instrument was a simple questionnaire requesting information about the respondent and his or her spouse, and all of the respondent's consanguinal kin who are Whitesides or the descendents of a Whiteside. This meant that the ascending and lateral kin of one of the respondent's parents were excluded from consideration. The information requested for the respondent and each kinsman included basic demographic characteristics and occupational status.² Respondents were also asked to indicate whether or not they

had access to sources of genealogical information concerning their Whiteside kin. All of these data were placed on magnetic tape for computer analysis.

The family genealogy mentioned above was assembled from information gathered through correspondence with family members, from American federal census records, published family histories, other documentary sources, and from tombstones. The genealogy contains all presently known descendents of the three Whiteside brothers mentioned above, but it does not, in its present form, include spouses. The information recorded for each person represented in the genealogy is quite similar to that obtained in the questionnaire study. The genealogical data were also placed on magnetic tape for computer analysis.

Quality of the Data

The fact that secondary data analysis was necessary to establish the empirical base for this study meant dealing with some special methodological problems which are described below. Two have to do with the original questionnaire. Another concerns the genealogy.

The use of questionnaire data, or any data, for that matter, for purposes other than those for which it was originally intended almost always entails certain difficulties which are not encountered with data gathered specifically for a particular study. This is typically a reflection of the fact that an instrument developed for one conceptual

focus provides data which is, in part irrelevant and in part inadequate for another. In this study the problem of irrelevancy was solved during the process of reorganizing the original data. The problems of inadequacy may be described as follows. The original instrument used to gather the kin network data was not designed to prevent respondents from relying upon data sources other than their own recollections of 'natural' encounters with kin in reporting their networks. Thus they could have reported kin who were known to them from written records. Knowledge of kin through records indicates, of course, a different kind of 'involvement' with them than does knowledge acquired through interaction.

A second problem arose from the fact that respondents were not instructed to limit in any way the amount of help they got from kin in filling out the questionnaire. Thus the questionnaire may have acted as an uncontrolled stimulus which induced some respondents to increase their knowledge by consulting with kin. Fortunately, it was possible to identify respondents whose knowledge was obtained from private and public written records. A question in the original instrument asked: "Do you have any genealogical data on the family?" Respondents who replied affirmatively were asked: "If yes, What kind?"

An analysis of the knowledge of the groups of respondents who answered affirmatively, negatively, or not at all to this question indicated clearly that the former group had knowledge of a much higher proportion of distant

kin than the latter two groups. This is clear despite the fact that only eighteen respondents fell into this group. The proportions of each group indicated that they had knowledge of kin less remote than, and inclusive of, the kin types shown in Table 2. The same regularity holds for all categories of secondary ascendent kin considered in this study. The main data analysis revealed that reported access to genealogical information was associated with knowledge of higher proportions of almost all categories of kin. The data for the proportions of parent's sibling's children known by the 'contaminated' and uncontaminated' respondents is typical and is shown in Table 3. Since the data in Table 2 indicated that the respondents who did not reply at all to the genealogical information question clearly did not have more knowledge of their kin than the respondents who responded negatively, these two categories were collapsed into one for the main data analysis. It should be noted that in all likelihood the knowledge differences shown in Table 3 do not reflect quite the same kind of differential access to information as do the differences in Table 2. Because a much lower proportion of distant secondary ascendent kin are likely to be living than cousins, written records would have to be the most important source of information about them for most people.³ If one therefore takes a conservative attitude towards estimating the degree to which the subsample reporting access to information listed kin they could not have recalled from

Table 2

Maximum Depth of Respondent Knowledge of Selected
Kin Types, by Possession of
Genealogical Information

<u>Kin Type</u>	<u>Possession of Genealogical Information</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No response</u>
Grandfather	50% (9)	10.3 (6)	13.3 (4)
Great-grandfather	22.2 (4)	3.4 (2)	3.3 (1)
Grandfather's sibling	61.2 (11)	24.1 (14)	6.7 (2)
Grandfather's sibling's child	33.3 (6)	8.6 (5)	0% (0)
Percentage base total	(18)	(58)	(30)

Table 3

Reported Proportional Knowledge of Parent's Siblings'
Children, Controlling for Respondent and Cousin
Sex, and Respondent Possession of
Genealogical Information

Cousin Sex	Sex of Respondent			
	Male		Female	
	Reported Possession of Genealogical Information			
	Yes	No and No Response	Yes	No and No Response
male	58% (11)	31% (60)	35% (4)	29% (8)
female	54% (11)	29% (59)	22% (3)	55% (11)

interaction or family 'oral tradition,' one would assume that knowledge of cousins and parent's siblings was acquired through consultation with significant kin, while knowledge of distant ascendants was acquired from records.

In any case, on the basis of the findings represented in Tables 2 and 3, data regarding the eighteen respondents who answered affirmatively to the genealogical information question were not considered in testing the hypotheses developed in this study. This effectively reduced the size of the sample to eighty-eight.⁴

The Genealogy

The originality of this study stems from the fact that the proportion rather than the absolute number of kin known was used as an indicator of kin knowledge. The validity of the various proportions is dependent upon the validity of two separate sets of data, the questionnaire data and the family genealogy. The questionnaire data discussed above were used to determine the numerators of fractions which were reduced to proportions of kin known. The denominators of these intermediate fractions were determined from the family genealogy described earlier in this chapter. For the purposes of the present study, the validity of this genealogy is essentially dependent upon its being a complete enumeration of kin of the respondent group. Some internal analysis of the genealogy was carried out in the course of preparing the data for the proportional calculations, however, and the following conclusions were reached. First, the

genealogy appears to be more complete for kin closely related to the respondents than it is for distant kin. This is indicated by the ratios given in Table 4 and 5.

As a comparison of ratios (b) and (c) indicates, the inclusion or exclusion of childless 'parents' makes a considerable difference in the size of the ratio obtained. Thus most of the loss of kin indicated by the difference between ratios (a) and (c) is only apparent. Furthermore, if we assume that ratio (a) is correct, and also that it reflects the average family size of all individuals of the same generational level, then ratio (b) indicates that slightly more than eighty percent of all first cousins were known.

There are two reasons to suspect that the actual loss of kin is no greater than that indicated by the difference between ratios (a) and (b) in Table 4. One is the fact that only one other ratio in either Table 4 or Table 5, 4-(d), 5-(b), and 5-(d) were recalculated to exclude childless ascendants, one would expect, given the difference between 4-(b) and 4-(c), that they would be approximately twice as large and thus very close in magnitude to ratios 4-(a), 5-(a), and 5-(c) respectively. The reason for expecting such adjusted ratios to be twice as large or greater concerns two other factors likely to affect the proportion of childless kin included in the parental generation for each ratio. One is the secular decline in infant mortality in the United States. Many of the childless

Table 4

Ratios of Same-Generation Kin to Parents

(a)	respondents and siblings/parents -----	5.1/1
(b)	1st cousins/parents' siblings with children -----	4.2/1
(c)	1st cousins/all parents' siblings -----	2.0/1
(d)	grandparents' siblings' grandchildren/grandparents' siblings' children -----	1.6/1

Table 5

Ratios of Same-Generation Kin to Parents,
for two Ascendent Generations

(a)	respondents' parents, parents' siblings/grandparents -----	7.3/1
(b)	grandparents' siblings children/grandparents' siblings -----	2.5/1
(c)	grandparents and siblings/great-grandparents	8.2/1
(d)	great-grandparents' siblings' children/ great-grandparents' siblings -----	3.7/1

parents' siblings excluded from ratio 4-(b) were persons who had died in infancy. The proportion of such individuals would necessarily be greater for ascendent generations. The other factor is the secular decline in the proportion of persons who remain childless.

In conclusion, it appears that some kin are not included in the genealogy. The proportion of missing kin appears to be about twenty percent, and it does not appear to vary with genealogical distance from the respondents' lines of descent. Whether the proportions obtained from the genealogy are therefore invalid or not depends upon the standards of precision one wishes to employ. The proportions are regarded as adequate for this study because of the following consideration. Most of the kin categories from which people appear to be missing are included in a 'distant secondary' class in the main data analysis. The number of kin presently obtainable for the genealogy who fall into this class for each of the respondents is in excess of one hundred for over half of the respondents. Therefore the addition of missing kin to the genealogy would only have the effect of moderately decreasing the proportions of kin in this class who are known by the respondents.

This is perhaps less true for parents' siblings' children. This kin type is the single most important in this study, and the genealogy gives an average of about twelve for each respondent. Thus the addition of the twenty percent of cousins who appear to be lost could change the proportions

of cousins known somewhat. Whether the distribution of salient characteristics like sex and occupation would change also is moot. The sex ratio for the cousin group is 102, which is quite what one would expect from a random sample of a population. Somewhat more than half of the cousins with known occupations fall into the white collar categories, which may or may not reflect a bias in the genealogy.⁶

One datum from the genealogy suggests that if cousins were known at all, they were known reasonably well. This is the difference between the respondent-respondent's siblings/children ratio and the cousin/cousins' children ratio: the former is 1/1.68, the latter 1/1.15. The difference between these ratios is rather small in comparison to the unadjusted differences in Tables 4 and 5. From this the conclusion may be drawn that while some kin of the same generational levels as the respondents were not included in the genealogy, those who were are reasonably well, and therefore accurately, described. The sex ratio figure indicates, albeit tentatively, that they are representative of the total number of similar kin, at least for the purposes of this study.

The discussion regarding the genealogy may be summarized as follows. First, the genealogy is important for this study because it is necessary for determining the respondents' proportional knowledge of kin. Second, the genealogy is incomplete.

The adequacy of the genealogy is dependent upon its

being a complete enumeration of respondents' kin. An analysis of the genealogy indicated that it contains roughly eighty percent of the respondents' kin, and that it is as complete for individuals closely related to the respondents as for distantly related individuals. The fact that the genealogy is incomplete was not regarded as seriously affecting the validity of the proportions obtained by using it for two reasons. One is that most of the missing individuals appear to fall into the 'distant secondary' kin class, which is already quite large for most respondents. Furthermore, few respondents know high proportions of this class. Second, twenty percent of the respondents' parents' siblings' children appear to be missing. However, analysis of some characteristics of the first cousins in the genealogy indicated that in all likelihood they are reasonably representative of all the cousins.

Analysis of the Data

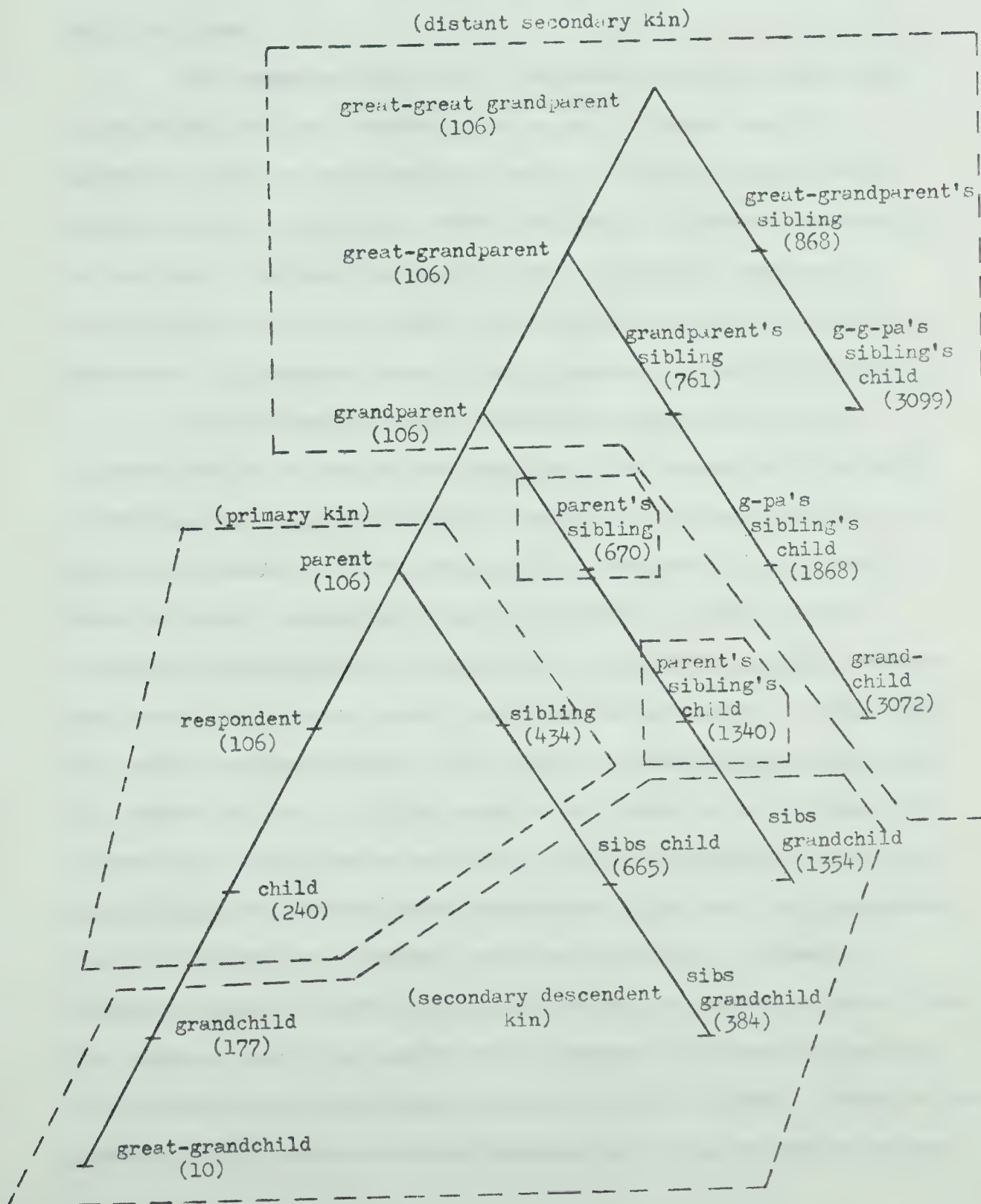
Data analysis involved two general operations. The first was that of determining the 'proportional kin knowledge' of a class of respondents relevant to the testing of a particular hypothesis. The number of kin known was obtained from the questionnaire data, and the number of kin which respondents could potentially have known was obtained from the genealogical data. These figures were reduced to percentages of kin known, to facilitate making comparisons among them.⁷ In addition, the kind of kin to be included among the 'known'

and the 'potentially knowable' were restricted to those who were within a specified genealogical distance from the respondent in terms of their relationship to him. This means that some categories of kin in some respondents' networks were not included in the calculation of proportional knowledge. The same genealogical limits were applied to all respondents' kindreds, of course. The kin which are considered admissible in the proportional calculations are those who are (1) no more than four ascending generations from a respondent, and (2) no more than three descending generations from the respondent or an admissible ascendent. Great-great-grandparents' great-grandchildren were also excluded when it became clear that there was an extremely large number of them, and that few of them were known by the respondents. The admissible kin types are shown in the diagram presented in Figure 1. Restricting the number of admissible kin types by the imposition of these limits results in the exclusion of very few individuals from the networks of any of the respondents. Only a small fraction of the known kin are more than four steps of removal from any given respondent. The major reason for the imposition of the genealogical limits was to simplify and shorten the computational routines required for computer processing of the data.

The second phase of data analysis was an examination of differences in proportional kin knowledge among the respondents to determine if the hypotheses should be accepted

Figure I

Respondents' kin contained in the genealogy, for kin types included in the data analysis



or rejected. The selection of a means for deciding if proportions representing different categories of the independent variables were 'meaningfully' different presented some difficulties.

The sample from which the data were obtained for this study was not randomly selected. Therefore, it appeared that no statistical tests of significance could be applied to the data. Nevertheless, it seemed desirable to subject the data organized for hypothesis testing to statistical tests in order to determine whether or not the observed differences were likely caused by random factors.

The researcher was therefore presented with a dilemma which he could not resolve. In consultations with a specialist in sociological statistics, he was advised to test the sample for randomness with respect to all easily quantifiable respondent characteristics. Such a test involves ascertaining a population value for a given characteristic (e.g., mean age), and then determining if the order of sample values higher and lower than the population value is random or not. If the sample is found to be random with respect to such characteristics, then hypotheses regarding relationships between such characteristics and kin knowledge can be subject to standard statistical tests. However, demonstration of such randomness cannot be taken to mean that the sample would be random with respect to other characteristics which had not been subject to such a test. Thus in the present study relationships between such characteristics and

kin knowledge could not be tested with the data in a statistically meaningful sense. The data could only be interpreted as suggesting whether or not a hypothesized relationship holds for the sample.⁸

Only two characteristics of the respondents discussed in this study were both easily quantifiable and also easily related to population characteristics, given the available data.⁹ These were sex and age. The sample is clearly biased with respect to sex, however, as it is with respect to a number of other characteristics like region of residence. A test for randomness was therefore performed only with respect to age. The particular test which was used was the one-sample runs test. This test indicated that the distribution of respondents by age in the sample could definitely be considered as random.¹⁰ Unfortunately, however, while age was an important control variable for testing several of the relationships hypothesized in this study, it was not an independent variable for any of them. Therefore no statistical tests could be used in assessing the support which the data offered for the hypotheses.

The decision was made, however, to select a consistent, though arbitrary, procedure for hypothesis testing which would indicate differences among proportions which could be considered to suggest the existence of given relationships. The procedure which was chosen involved setting up tables in which proportions of kin known were averaged for groups of respondents having various values of

the independent and control variables. The proportions were usually calculated not for all admissible kin, but separately for four classes of kin: (1) primary kin; (2) parent's siblings; (3) parent's siblings' children; and (4) distant secondary kin (see Figure 1 on page 51).¹¹ Table 7 on page 64 is typical of those which were constructed.

All of the independent variables are represented as being essentially dichotomous. The procedure used for testing a given hypothesis was that of determining whether or not one more than half of the total number of differences between the two proportions for each kin class differed in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. If such a pattern of differences was found within the table or tables applicable to an hypothesis, the differences as an aggregate were regarded as being meaningful, and the hypothesis was therefore 'accepted.'¹²

Control Variables

In the course of testing the hypotheses, controls were applied to the data to reveal any relationships between respondent knowledge, and respondent or kin characteristics other than those incorporated into the hypotheses as independent variables. A given control variable was employed in testing an hypothesis under one of two conditions: (1) previous research summarized in Chapter II had indicated that it might affect kin knowledge; (2) the variable was found to be associated with one of the independent variables or with

knowledge in the present study. The identification of such additional variables of apparent significance was usually the results of a rather informal kind of hypothesis testing. For example, it was initially thought that older respondents might know a significantly larger proportion of kin than would younger respondents. However, since little support for this conjecture was found in the literature, and since Adams presented almost no evidence regarding the kin involvement of older people, the search for a relationship between age and knowledge was not formalized as one of the hypotheses to be tested in this study. A strong relationship between age and knowledge was found, although it was the opposite of what was expected, and age was thereafter used as a control variable in testing several of the hypotheses.¹³

A concise list of control variables is presented, and the reader will note that some of them are also used as independent variables for some of the hypotheses which are discussed in Chapter IV.

There is a certain amount of ambiguity associated with the way in which one of these variables, occupational status, is treated in this study. It seems appropriate to confront this ambiguity at this point before anything more is said about analysis of the data.

Basically the ambiguity resides in the fact that 'occupational status' is taken to mean two things. On the one hand, it means 'position on an occupational prestige ranking scale.' Such a scale is a fairly standard device

for imputing a relative prestige rank to individuals' occupations. The assumption is normally made, of course, that this ranking can be validated by asking the members of any group to which the scale is applied to rank their occupations. However, occupational status is discussed in this study not just in relation to prestige, but also in relation to broad membership in social strata for which occupational status is an indicator, and where subcultural differences are postulated to exist between these strata which affect the ways in which individuals relate to their kin. These social strata are referred to obliquely by the terms "white collar" and "blue collar" in this study, where these terms are used to indicate the social stratum membership of individuals, and not just their occupational status.¹⁴

Basically, the somewhat casual treatment of social stratification in this study reflects the manner in which Adams handled it. He does not even explicitly define 'white collar' and 'blue collar' in relation to the occupational ranking categories he used, although the relationship between the latter and the stratum labels is fairly obvious.

1. Size of respondent's place of residence (rural vs. urban);¹⁵
2. Respondent age;¹⁶
3. Respondent residential mobility: comparison of respondent's place of residence with father's (mother's) last residence;
4. Proximity of respondent's and kinsman's places of birth;
5. Northern vs. southern regional residence of respondents;
6. Northern vs. southern regional place of birth of respondents;

7. Respondent sex;
8. Kin sex;
9. Vital status of respondent's mother and father;
10. Occupational status of respondent;
11. Occupational status of kin;
12. Intergenerational occupational mobility of respondent;
13. Intergenerational occupational mobility of respondent's parent.

FOOTNOTES

¹72% of the respondents live in two adjacent regions which have boundaries roughly congruent with those of the Confederate States of America. The boundaries of these regions were established for Whiteside's original studies, and are described in the Appendix.

²See the Questionnaire contained in the Appendix.

³Correspondence between Whiteside and some of the respondents who had cooperated with the questionnaire study revealed that some of them had extensive and reasonably accurate knowledge of kin of ascendent generations which they said had been passed down to them by oral tradition.

⁴At this point the question arose as to whether the respondents who were to be excluded differed from the rest in terms of any characteristics other than knowledge of kin. This question was important because these respondents might have actively collected the information they reported, and also because excluding them might introduce bias into the rest of the sample.

If, for example, all of the respondents reporting possession of genealogical information were found to be older women who were born in the southern states, who lived in rural areas, and who had never moved away from the district where they were born, it would be reasonable to assume that such characteristics might be associated with a way of life stressing the preservation of knowledge about kin. In other words, reported possession of genealogical information might turn out to be an indicator of kin knowledge and kin involvement.

Second, the possibility existed that excluding this subsample from analysis might have the effect of introducing biases into the rest of the sample. For example, it might have been the case that possession of genealogical information simply reflected a long tradition of family residential stability and literacy. In this case, excluding the subsample from analysis might result in a significant underrepresentation of residentially stable persons from families which had been urban and middle-class for a number of generations. The possibility of bias was not actually regarded as being potentially serious because the 'contaminated' subsample is a fairly small proportion of the total sample (18 out of 106). Furthermore, the total sample had been chosen on a convenience basis and therefore was known not to be statistically representative of any specifiable population.

Table 6 shows the percentages of respondents having characteristics relevant to kin knowledge and the question of bias.

Table 6

Percentages of Respondents with Specified characteristics by possession of genealogical information

Characteristics	Reply to Question Forty		
	Yes	No	No Reply
1. % female	28% (5)	17% (10)	17% (5)
2. Average age (years)	55.2 (18)	50.5 (58)	46.6 (30)
3. % living in same community or state as last residence of father	78% (14)	60% (35)	50% (15)
4. % born in southern states	78% (14)	84% (49)	77% (23)
5. % living in rural areas	28% (5)	17% (10)	23% (7)
6. % living in large urban areas	33% (6)	41% (24)	37% (11)
7. % having white collar occupations	39% (17)	57% (33)	37% (11)
Percentage base totals	18	58	30

Despite the small numbers of respondents involved, it seems apparent that the 'contaminated' subsample differs appreciably from both of the other groups at least with regard to sex ratio, intergenerational mobility, and 'rurality.' Higher proportions in the former group are female, geographically non-mobile, and live in rural areas or small towns. These findings suggest that this group may be more predisposed towards kin involvement.

⁵As implied, these ratios were calculated by using the formula:

$$\frac{\text{number of kin-type 'j' in descendent generation}}{\text{number of kin-type 'k' in ascendent generation}} = R$$

The ratios could also have been calculated by first

establishing a ratio for each respondent, for cousins and parents' siblings for example, and then averaging these ratios.

⁶Almost seventy percent of the 'cousins' in the genealogy had no occupational status assigned to them. This is a consequence, largely, of the fact that no occupational status was assigned to married females.

⁷These proportions were usually calculated separately for the four main groups or classes of kin-types shown in figure 1. These are: (1) primary kin; all members of the respondent's families of orientation and procreation excepting his or her spouse; (2) the Whiteside parent's siblings; (3) the Whiteside parent's siblings' children; (4) distant secondary kin, as illustrated.

Proportions were not usually calculated for the last category of secondary descendents.

⁸These considerations were brought to the researcher's attention during conversations with Dr. P. Krishnan of the University of Alberta Department of Sociology on September 26 and 28, 1972.

⁹The population is considered to be that of the United States for the purpose of this test.

¹⁰Both the original sample selected for this study as well as the subsample which does not contain respondents reporting possession of genealogical information were subject to a two-tailed runs test. The null hypothesis was accepted for both for $p = .05$. The figure for the mean age of the adult population of the United States which was employed in this test was obtained from the following publication: U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Subject reports. State of Birth. Final Report PC (2) - 2A. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1963, p. 24.

¹¹Secondary descendents were excluded from all but one set of calculations because knowledge of them was regarded as being of little interest until late in the study.

¹²Since orthodox hypothesis-testing is not possible in this study, it therefore must be regarded as an exploratory investigation. Therefore, the hypothesis-testing procedure employed is not meant to indicate whether or not the hypotheses are confirmed by the data, but rather whether or not there is enough evidence for them to justify retaining them as worthy of consideration in some future study. Consequently, the test is an aid to selecting some relationships from among many which might be recommended for formal hypothesis-testing. In regard to the logic of exploratory studies, see Gideon Sjöberg and Roger Nett, A Methodology

for Social Research (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), p. 152. Also see Claire Selltig, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stewart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1959), p. 51.

¹³The greater knowledge of younger respondents was found to be statistically significant at better than the .05 level of significance for knowledge of first cousins, parent's siblings, and distant secondary kin. The test employed was the two-tailed test for difference of proportions.

¹⁴The ranking scale used in this study is described in the appendix. The meaning of 'white collar' and 'blue collar' in terms of this scale is also given in the appendix.

¹⁵Respondents were assigned a rural residential status if they lived in a rural area or in a community with 2,500 or fewer inhabitants.

¹⁶This variable was usually dichotomized as 'young' and old.' The upper limit for the 'young' category was set at fifty years, which is the upper limit of one of the age classes used in the original study. It is also very close to the mean age of the sample, which is close to fifty-two years.

Chapter IV

Results of the Data Analysis

Slightly more than half of the hypotheses developed in this study were found to be supported by the data. The data, as organized for testing the hypotheses, are presented in the tables in this chapter.

The hypotheses were tested by the procedure described in the preceding chapter. Generally, the separate proportions of first cousins, parent's siblings, and distant secondary kin known by the respondents were used in the tests. In two instances the proportions for secondary descendent kin were also taken into account. The proportions of primary kin known were not considered in testing the hypotheses. These proportions are nevertheless included in the tables because they probably give a rough, but useful, indication of how careful different groups of the respondents were in filling out the original questionnaire.

The presentation of findings in this chapter is organized around six of the more important hypotheses. Findings regarding each of these hypotheses are presented in separate sections, along with findings concerning more specific related hypotheses.

The reader should keep in mind the fact that the hypothesis testing procedure employed here of necessity has no statistical basis. It is simply used as a device for

consistently arriving at decisions as to whether or not data may suggest the existence of a relationship.

Hypothesis I: the knowledge of ruralites is greater than the knowledge of urbanites.

The data provide rather meagre support for this hypothesis. Two control variables in Table 7 were separately employed in testing the hypothesis, respondent age and residential mobility, to allow for the effects of rural-urban migration.¹ As Table 7 indicates, the young rural respondents, of whom there are few, know more of their secondary kin than do their urban counterparts. Support for the converse of the hypothesis is shown by the data for older respondents, however.

Table 8 shows the results of controlling for respondent residential mobility. The most obvious regularity in Table 8 is the fact that almost all comparisons between rural and urban cases within mobility categories indicate less knowledge on the part of the rural respondents.² Hypothesis I is therefore regarded as undemonstrated.

Hypothesis II: the knowledge of 'southerners' is greater than the knowledge of individuals living in other regions of the country.

As can be seen from Table 9, there appears to be a tendency for southern respondents, unlike the others, to know a higher proportion of kin born in the same state than kin born elsewhere. However, of the nine relevant comparisons which can be made between the knowledge of northern and

Table 7

Proportion of Kin Classes Known by Size of
Respondent Community of Residence and
Respondent Age

Kin Class	Respondent age			
	Young		Old	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Primary	86% (4) ^a	95% (34)	86% (9)	91% (26)
Cousins	46% (3)	40% (28)	31% (7)	32% (22)
Father's siblings	75% (3)	68% (32)	38% (9)	46% (24)
Distant secondary	10% (4)	8% (34)	0.6% (9)	2% (26)

a the figures in parentheses represent the number of respondents whose averaged proportional knowledge is given in the same cell. Respondents' proportional knowledge was included in the calculations if (1) the genealogy listed kin for them in the given kin class, and (2) if the respondents could be assigned values for all of the independent and control variables. The maximum number of respondents which can be represented in these data tables is 88. For this table young N = 38, old N = 35; total cases = 73.

Table 8

Proportion of Kin Classes known by size of Respondent Community of Residence
and Residential Mobility of Respondents

Residential mobility	Size of community of residence							
	Rural*				Urban			
(comparison of respondent's residence with father's last residence)	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant Secondary	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant Secondary
Different region	87% (5)	28% (5)	44% (5)	7% (5)	84% (19)	52% (13)	59% (17)	6% (19)
Within same region, different state	--- (0)	--- (0)	--- (0)	--- (0)	87% (12)	36% (11)	46% (12)	2% (12)
Same state, different community	79% (10)	27% (8)	35% (9)	0.7% (10)	96% (24)	22% (22)	54% (23)	7% (24)
Same community	82% (2)	7% (1)	14% (2)	2% (2)	82% (13)	40% (11)	58% (12)	4% (13)
Unknown	--- (0)	--- (0)	--- (0)	--- (0)	88% (2)	100% (1)	50% (2)	0.7% (2)

* rural N = 17, urban N = 70; total cases = 87

Table 9

Proportion of Kin Classes known by Proximity of Birth-place
to that of Kin, and by Region of Birth

Respondent Area of Residence	(a) Same state of birth for respondent and Kin			
	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary
Northern*	72% (13)	34% (6)	33% (7)	20% (5)
Southern	89% (69)	35% (53)	54% (54)	6% (61)
	(b) Same region of birth for respondent and Kin.			
Northern	100% (2)	64% (5)	6% (2)	0% (1)
Southern	81% (22)	13% (16)	54% (13)	4% (53)
	(c) Different region of birth for respon- dent and Kin.			
Northern	84% (11)	32% (7)	61% (9)	2% (14)
Southern	81% (25)	27% (39)	23% (11)	1% (66)

Northern N = 13, Southern N = 69; total cases = 73.
See the Appendix for definitions of 'Northern' and
Southern'.

southern respondents, only four support the hypothesis. The hypothesis must therefore be rejected.

Hypothesis III: the knowledge of females is greater than the knowledge of males.

This hypothesis was strongly supported by the data. As Table 10 indicates, females in both the young and old age categories know higher proportions of all classes of kin than do males. The data in Table 11, which includes those respondents whose age is not known, also strongly support the hypothesis.

IIIIa: knowledge of same-sex kin is greater than knowledge of cross-sex kin.

The data in Table 11 support the hypothesis. Same-sex knowledge is greater than cross-sex knowledge for all but female knowledge of distant secondary kin.

IIIIb: the knowledge of white collar individuals of cross-sex kin is greater than the knowledge of blue collar individuals of cross-sex kin.

The fact that only a few of the female members of the sample were known to have blue or white collar status meant that only male respondents' knowledge of female kin could be used to test this hypothesis. As Table 12 indicates, both young and old male blue collar respondents know a higher proportion of two of the three relevant cross-sex kin classes than do their white collar counterparts. The hypothesis must therefore be rejected.

Table 10
Proportion of Kin Classes Known by Sex
and Age of Respondents

Kin class	Sex of Respondent			
	Male		Female	
	Young*	Old	Young	Old
Primary	93% (31)	91% (29)	100% (7)	85% (6)
Cousins	40% (25)	27% (26)	47% (6)	67% (3)
Father's siblings	65% (28)	41% (28)	85% (7)	61% (5)
Distant secondary	6% (31)	2% (29)	17% (7)	3% (6)

*'young' = age 50 or less; 'old' - age 51 or more.
Young N = 38; old N = 35. Total cases = 73.

Table 11
Proportion of Kin Classes known by Sex
of Kin and Sex of Respondents

Kin class	Male respondents*		Female respondents	
	Male kin	Female kin	Male kin	Female kin
Primary	88% (72)	89% (68)	85% (14)	78% (12)
Cousins	31% (60)	29% (59)	29% (8)	55% (11)
Father's siblings	50% (68)	41% (65)	61% (12)	77% (13)
Distant secondary	4% (73)	3% (72)	10% (15)	10% (14)

* Male N = 73, Female N = 15; Total cases = 88.

Table 12

Proportions of Kin Classes known by all Respondents, Controlling for Respondent Sex,
Occupational Status of Male Respondents, and Sex of Kin

Respondent sex and occupation	Male kin				Female kin			
	Primary kin	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary	Primary kin	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary
Males:								
white collar	90% (34)	30% (28)	56% (31)	6% (35)	92% (33)	33% (28)	43% (28)	4% (35)
blue collar	86% (20)	41% (15)	50% (20)	3% (20)	87% (17)	35% (17)	52% (20)	1% (19)
All females	85% (14)	29% (8)	60% (12)	10% (15)	78% (12)	55% (11)	77% (13)	10% (14)

male N = 54; female N = 15; total cases = 69.

IIIc: the knowledge of white collar individuals of cross-cousins of either sex is greater than the knowledge of blue collar individuals of cross-cousins. Conversely, the knowledge of blue collar individuals of parallel cousins is greater than the knowledge of white collar individuals of parallel cousins.

Data from the present study, given in Table 13 for male respondents, do not support this hypothesis. Male blue collar respondents know higher proportions of father's sisters' children of both sexes than father's brothers' children. White collar individuals, on the other hand, know higher proportions of father's brothers' children.

IIId: female knowledge of first cousins is greater than male knowledge of first cousins.

IIIe: female knowledge of parent's sisters' children is greater than female knowledge of parent's brothers' children.

IIIIf: female knowledge of female first cousins is greater than female knowledge of male first cousins.

IIId to IIIIf have already been confirmed in the testing of other hypotheses. IIIe was tested using the data contained in Table 21. The differences between the proportions are quite large and are regarded as confirming IIIe despite the small number of respondents involved.

Hypothesis IV: the knowledge of individuals with living parents is greater than the knowledge of individuals with no living parents.

Table 13

Proportion of Cousins known by Male Respondents, Controlling
for Occupational Status of Respondents, Sex of
Cousins' Parents, and Sex of Cousins

Cousin sex:	Respondent Occupation			
	White Collar		Blue Collar	
	Male PaSibs*	Female PaSibs	Male PaSibs	Female PaSibs
Male	36% (27)	24% (16)	32% (16)	46% (13)
Female	30% (26)	26% (18)	35% (14)	36% (11)

white collar N = 26; blue collar N = 15; total cases = 41.

*PaSib stands for 'parent's sibling'.

Table 14

Proportions of Cousins known by all Respondents, Controlling
for Respondent Sex and Cousin Sex

Cousin sex:	Sex of respondent	
	Male ^a	Female
Male	31% (60)	29% (8)
Female	29% (59)	55% (11)

a Male = 60, female N = 11; total cases = 71

Table 21
Respondent Knowledge of Whiteside Parent's
Siblings' Children

Respondent sex	Cousin	Proportion known
female (7)*	father's sister's daughter	94.7%
female (3)	father's sister's son	73.3%
male (37)	father's sister's son	34.8%
male (53)	father's brother's son	32.6%
male (38)	father's sister's daughter	30.9%
male (52)	father's brother's daughter	27.4%
male (4)	mother's sister's daughter	25%
female (5)	father's brother's daughter	16%
female (5)	father's brother's son	8%

11 female and 78 male respondents were included in the cousin knowledge analysis.

As Table 15 indicates, young respondents with both parents living know more than those with only one living parent. The latter in turn know more than those neither of whose parents are still alive. Given the strong inverse relationship found earlier between age and knowledge, the question arose as to whether the three groups of 'young' respondents in Table 15 might differ significantly in average age. This was not found to be the case for the first two groups which together comprise most of the respondents. The hypothesis was therefore regarded as demonstrated.

Hypothesis V: the knowledge of individuals whose parents have been downwardly mobile is less than that of individuals having the same social status whose parents have not been downwardly mobile.

This hypothesis is regarded as being confirmed by the data in Table 16. However, as this table indicates, the number of respondents whose parents were downwardly mobile is quite small. Further examination of the data indicated that none of the respondents with downwardly mobile parents were themselves downwardly mobile. This fact precludes supposing that respondent mobility is primarily responsible for the observed differences in knowledge.

Hypothesis VI: the knowledge of white collar individuals is greater than the knowledge of blue collar individuals.

No convincing support was found for hypothesis VI. When no controls are used, as shown in Table 17, it appears

Table 15

Proportion of Kin Classes Known by Vital Status of Respondents' Parents

Vital status of respondents' parents	Age of respondents							
	Young*				Old			
	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary
Both parents living	90% (16)	48% (12)	81% (13)	9% (16)	---	---	---	---
Father only living**	--- (0)	100% (1)	100% (1)	1% (1)	---	44% (1)	83% (1)	16% (2)
Mother only living**	98% (12)	41% (11)	74% (12)	11% (12)	100% (2)	45% (2)	44% (2)	0.5% (2)
Neither parent living	100% (5)	28% (5)	43% (5)	---	90% (26)	32% (23)	42% (26)	---

*Young N = 34, Old N = 30. Total cases = 64.

**The average proportions of kin known by these respondents are less than those known by respondents having both parents living for cousins and parent's siblings.

Table 16

Proportion of Kin Classes known by all Respondents, Controlling for Respondent Age, Occupational Status, and Occupational Mobility of Parent

R. occupation and parent's mobility category	Age of respondent's							
	Young				Old			
	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary
R. white collar: parent upwardly mobile or non-mobile	94% (19)	48% (16)	79% (17)	11% (19)	90% (9)	19% (7)	45% (8)	4% (9)
parent downwardly mobile	75% (2)	0% (2)	32% (2)	0.5% (2)	100% (5)	28% (5)	43% (5)	1% (5)
R. blue collar: parent upwardly mobile or non-mobile	96% (7)	43% (7)	70% (7)	4% (7)	95% (7)	31% (7)	57% (7)	1% (7)
parent downwardly	--- (0)	--- (0)	--- (0)	--- (0)	80% (2)	100% (1)	50% (2)	1% (2)

young N = 28; old N = 23; total cases = 51.

that white collar males' knowledge of kin is appreciably greater than that of blue collar males. However in Table 18, where a control for respondent age is employed, only four of the eight differences favor the hypothesis and it must therefore be rejected.

VIa: white collar individuals' knowledge of ascending kin is greater than blue collar individuals knowledge of such kin.

Hypothesis VIa is supported by the direction of all of the cell differences in Table 19, although the magnitude of the differences is small. Another test of the hypothesis was obtained from Table 18, where controls are applied for both respondent age and residential mobility. As is evident, only the proportions for knowledge of distant secondary kin support the hypothesis. Therefore, the hypothesis must be regarded as being undemonstrated.

VIb: the knowledge of blue collar individuals of parent's siblings' children is greater than the knowledge of white collar individuals of parent's siblings' children.

The data support this hypothesis. For example, as can be seen from Table 12, blue collar males know a higher proportion of both their male and their female cousins than do white collar males.

VIc: the knowledge of white collar individuals who have been upwardly mobile is greater than the knowledge of white collar individuals whose social status has remained stable.

Table 17

Proportions of Male Kin known by Male Respondents,
Controlling for Occupational Status of Kin
and Respondents

Kin occupation	White Collar Respondents			
	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary
White collar	94% (17)	24% (19)	86% (13)	9% (28)
Blue collar	94% (18)	31% (19)	81% (14)	2% (24)
	Blue Collar Respondents			
	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary
White collar	83% (6)	46% (14)	80% (5)	3% (17)
Blue collar	100% (15)	28% (9)	55% (10)	0% (13)

White collar respondent N = 28; blue collar N = 17; total cases = 45.

Table 18

Proportions of Kin Classes known by Male Respondents, Controlling
for Occupational Status, Age, and Residential Mobility

R. occupation, res. mobility	Young respondents				Old respondents			
	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant secondary
White collar, mobile	90% (9)	40% (6)	63% (8)	7% (9)	76% (3)	15% (3)	28% (3)	0.5% (3)
White collar, static	93% (11)	34% (10)	72% (10)	8% (11)	97% (8)	16% (8)	36% (8)	4% (8)
Blue collar, mobile	96% (4)	75% (4)	70% (4)	6% (4)	84% (4)	33% (3)	32% (4)	0.4% (4)
Blue collar, static	94% (3)	0% (3)	72% (3)	1% (3)	96% (4)	54% (4)	79% (4)	1% (4)

young r. N = 27; old r. = 19; total cases = 46.

Table 19

Proportions of Kin Classes known by Male Respondents,
Controlling for Respondent Occupational
Status and Residential Mobility

R. occupation, res. mobility	Primary	Cousins	Father's siblings	Distant Secondary
White collar, mobile	87% (12)	32% (9)	53% (11)	6% (12)
White collar, static	93% (22)	27% (20)	53% (20)	5% (22)
Blue collar, mobile	81% (10)	56% (9)	49% (10)	5% (10)
Blue collar, static	90% (10)	24% (9)	53% (10)	1% (10)

white collar N = 34; blue collar N = 20; total cases = 54.

The large differences between cells in Table 20 appear to indicate unequivocally that the upwardly mobile have more knowledge of their kin than do the non-mobile. These differences can only be accounted for by the fact that secondary descendents were included with the other kin classes in the proportional calculations. In conclusion, hypothesis VIc is regarded as being confirmed by the data in Table 20.

VIId: the knowledge of downwardly mobile blue collar individuals is less than the knowledge of either stable blue collar or stable white collar individuals.

Table 20 indicates that the blue collar downwardly mobile know a lower proportion of all their kin, including secondary descendents, than do other blue collar respondents. The data do not indicate, however, that the downwardly mobile blue collar know less than all categories of white collar respondents; the proportion for the former group is slightly higher than that for the stable white collar group. Therefore that part of the hypothesis which suggests that white collar knowledge is greater than blue collar knowledge must be rejected.

Hypothesis VII: residentially mobile individuals know a lower proportion of their kin than do residentially stable individuals.

The data in Table 18 support the hypothesis for older respondents, for whom five of six relevant cell differences are in the predicted direction. Only three of

Table 20

Proportions of All Kin known, Controlling for Occupational Status, Intergenerational Occupational Mobility of Respondents, and Sex of Respondents

R. intergenerational occupational mobility (male respondents)	Respondent Occupation	
	White collar	Blue collar
Upward mobility	24% (23)	25% (11)
No mobility	9% (5)	16% (4)
Downward mobility	29% (1)	10% (4)
(female respondents)		
Upward mobility	28% (5)	--- (0)
No mobility	17% (2)	6% (1)

white collar N = 36; blue collar N = 20; total cases = 56.

the six cell differences are in the predicted direction for young respondents, suggesting that the hypothesis cannot be accepted for this group.

VIIa: for residentially mobile individuals who know a lower proportion of kin than do residentially stable individuals, the difference in knowledge between the mobile and the stable is greater for blue collar than for white collar individuals.

Four comparisons can be made in Table 18 between mobility category knowledge differences for white and blue collar respondents. The one comparison possible for young respondents (because of an absence of data) shows a 'difference between differences' which is not in the predicted direction. Two of the three possible comparisons for older respondents reveal differences which are in the predicted direction. Thus the hypothesis may be regarded as supported for older respondents.

Summary

Of the sixteen hypotheses tested in this study, seven were accepted. Three others were regarded as demonstrated for restricted subsamples of the respondents. Six hypotheses were rejected.

The seven which were accepted include those suggesting that female knowledge of kin is greater than male knowledge, and that females and parents are important linking kin. One hypothesis stating that upward mobility is

associated with greater knowledge was accepted. Also accepted was an hypothesis stating that blue collar respondents' knowledge of first cousins is greater than that of white collar respondents.

In summary, the hypotheses concerning the relationship between knowledge and sex, the linking effect, and upward mobility were confirmed. One hypothesis concerning differences in the relative proportions of known lateral vs. known ascendent kin in blue and white collar kin networks was confirmed.

Two hypotheses concerning the effects of residential mobility upon knowledge were confirmed only for older respondents. One hypothesis concerning the effects of downward mobility was confirmed only partially.

The six hypotheses which were rejected include most of those postulating differences between the knowledge of blue and white collar respondents. In addition, two rather speculative hypotheses were rejected. One concerns the kin knowledge of southerners as contrasted with inhabitants of other regions of the United States. The other concerns the knowledge of rural residents as contrasted with the knowledge of urban residents.

Footnotes

¹Examination of the relationship between respondent age and knowledge had shown that the knowledge of younger respondents was considerably greater than that of older respondents. Since out-migration from rural areas often distorts the age structure of the population, a control for age seemed necessary.

²The sample represented in this table includes fourteen whose ages were not reported, and who therefore are not represented in Table 1, or in any of the other tables where respondent age is used as a control variable. Exclusion of these respondents has the effect of reducing the respondent N from eighty-eight to a maximum of seventy-four.

³All respondents represented in this table have male parents.

Chapter V

Summary and Conclusions: Suggestions for Further Research

This study had two basic objectives. One was to test a number of hypotheses regarding knowledge of kin, most of which were derived from B. N. Adams' study of involvement with kin.¹ Adams conducted his study basically for the purpose of resolving some questions concerning kin involvement which had not been subjected to empirical scrutiny in any previous studies of American kinship. Accordingly the present study sought to replicate Adams' work, within the limites posed by data available to the researcher.

A second objective of the present study was to explore the feasibility of using a criterion genealogy to permit the analysis of proportional knowledge of kin, rather than an analysis of number of kin known. All previous studies of kin knowledge have used the number of kin known as the basic measure of knowledge. Such a measure is not satisfactory because individuals differ with regard to the number of their kin, thus number of kin known is an inaccurate index. The criterion genealogy employed in this study permitted the calculation of a more accurate measure of kin knowledge, the proportion of kin known.

The methodological model for testing knowledge of kin relationships implicit in these procedures is superior to that implicit in Adams' study. Nowhere in his discussion

of the size of kin networks does he consider the importance of variations among different kin networks in the number of kinsmen in any given kin category. Thus he makes the implicit assumption that such variations are unimportant, and therefore that in any given sample the number of kin in a given kin category can be regarded as being the same for all respondents.² In the present study, on the other hand, the size of kin categories has been regarded as variable and as requiring empirical determination. Consequently, the number of kin in a given category known by respondents has been regarded as meaningful only in relation to the number of persons actually having the specified relationship to the respondent.

It became evident during the course of the data analysis that the calculation of such proportions requires a rather complicated computer program. Furthermore, the criterion genealogy was so large that a considerable amount of computer time was required for reading the data in order to determine the proportion of kin known by respondents. The other clerical and computer operations necessary in preparing the data for analysis were also somewhat lengthy, though not otherwise difficult. Therefore, one major conclusion which was reached as a result of this study is that the use of a criterion genealogy for the calculation of proportion of kin known is quite feasible, though involved from a computer analysis perspective.

Among the methodological problems which had to be

solved in the course of the study were two of particular importance. The first resulted from a divergence between the original purpose of the questionnaire employed to collect the data regarding kin known by the respondents, and the data requirements of this study. Thus while it was very important that these particular data represent kin known by respondents through direct interaction or through interaction with linking kin, the questionnaire contained no instructions specifying that certain means of acquiring knowledge of kin were not 'admissible.' This meant that respondents could have listed kin known to them only through written records. Access to written records could of course reflect the expenditure of greater effort on the part of individuals collecting them than on the part of other respondents, and thus greater concern with kin. Similarly, the availability of genealogical information compiled by families could reflect the kin involvement of members of such families. Such kinds of information must be taken as indicators of involvement rather than of knowledge, however, and this study was directly concerned only with the latter.

Fortunately, the original instrument contained a question asking if respondents had any 'genealogical data.' Although the proportion of respondents who did not answer this somewhat ambiguous question was high, an analysis of all respondents revealed that the kin knowledge of those answering affirmatively was much higher than the kin knowledge of those answering negatively. Those who did not reply to the question were found not to know higher proportions of their kin than this latter group. Therefore it was concluded that (1) those answering affirmatively did in fact have information not available to the other groups, and (2) that

those who did not answer were unlikely to have access to records which had 'contaminated' their reported knowledge of kin. Data for the former, contaminated, group of respondents was therefore excluded from the main analysis.

The second methodological problem arose as a consequence of the need for a justifiable decision rule for use in testing the hypotheses considered in this study. Various tests of statistical significance were considered. Such tests have the advantage of indicating the probability that observed differences in the values assigned to categories of independent variables have occurred by chance. These tests are valid only if the data being tested meet certain assumptions. One such assumption which could not be met for hypothesis-testing in this study was that the data employed be obtained from independent random samples of some specifiable population. Because this assumption could not be met, it was felt that a significance test would not provide a valid indication of whether or not differences observed in the data could be regarded as real and as representing the operation of something other than random factors.

However, it was possible to demonstrate with the one-sample runs test that the distribution of respondents by age appeared to be random in relation to the mean age of adults in the United States. This rendered the use of tests of significance justifiable for relationships between age and knowledge of kin. Unfortunately, age was not an independent variable in any of the hypotheses, and the runs test could not be applied to many other respondent characteristics because of a lack of suitable data. Furthermore, the sample was found to be obviously biased with respect to some characteristics like sex and region

of residence. Consequently, the use of a test of significance for making decisions about the hypotheses could not be justified. A decision rule which has no statistical basis was therefore adopted to provide a consistent means for deciding when differences among kin knowledge proportions appeared to suggest the existence of a relationship. This rule specified that an hypothesis would be accepted if at least one more than half of the relevant differences in a given table set up for hypothesis testing differed in the direction predicted by the hypothesis.

Before summarizing the results of this study, an interesting implication of this study for Adams' work should be noted. It will be recalled that Adams' methodological model assumed that individuals have the same number of kin in given kin categories. It is possible to test this assumption using data from the criterion genealogy employed in the present research. These data indicate that the respondents had from one to thirty-four first cousins, and from two to twelve father's siblings. Furthermore, the range for the number of kin in the categories in the 'distant secondary' kin class was from eleven to one hundred forty-seven. Thus it is quite obvious that Adams was incorrect in assuming that individuals have the same number of kin of given types. In the light of this methodological fallacy in Adams' work, it is interesting to summarize the degree of correspondence between his findings and those obtained as a result of this study.

The regularities found in this study concerning knowledge of kin are generally consistent with previously reported findings regarding involvement and interaction with kin. Some specific relationships suggested by Adams were not supported by the knowledge data. Little support was also found for two conjectures regarding the kin knowledge of rural individuals and inhabitants of the southern states.

The relationships which were confirmed are largely those which have to do with respondent and kin sex, linking kin, and the effects of social mobility. Thus as expected, female respondents were found to know higher proportions of their kin than do male respondents, presumably reflecting their greater interest in kin and kin affairs. This finding is in agreement with every significant study of kin involvement. In addition, evidence was found suggesting that knowledge of more kin is mediated or transmitted by females than by males. The respondents knew considerably higher proportions of parents' sisters' children than parents' brothers' children, especially where the children were also female. A determination of the comparative linking 'efficiency' of mothers and fathers would have had more general implications, since there is some evidence that they perform the linking function differently.² This was unfortunately not possible due to limitations of the data.

As Adams had found with regard to kin interaction, similarity of sex was found to be related to knowledge of kin. Respondents reported considerably higher knowledge of

same-sex kin as compared to cross-sex kin. Their knowledge of same-sex parents' siblings' children was especially high where both of the latter were of the same sex. This presumably indicates, as Adams found, that same-sex kin are most likely to maintain close contact after childhood because of similarity of interest.³ They would thus tend to 'link' each other to still other kin.

Although sex of parent could not be controlled in investigating the linking phenomenon, it was possible to determine if the death of one or both parents was associated with decreases in knowledge. Such a relationship was found to hold after the application of a control for respondent age. This finding corroborates Adams' finding that parents serve an important linking role between their children and other kin.⁴

Two of Adams' findings on effects of social mobility were confirmed here with regard to knowledge. Thus, upward mobility was found to be associated with considerably greater knowledge among respondents with white collar or blue collar occupations. Adams was somewhat puzzled by this finding, and the present study provides only one additional piece of evidence which might contribute to an understanding of it. The difference in kin known by the stable and the upwardly mobile white collar individuals is largely a reflection of the higher proportion of 'secondary descendents' known by the mobile group. The kin class of secondary descendents includes siblings' children and grandchildren, first

cousins' children, and the respondents' own grandchildren and great grandchildren. The last two kin types account for only slightly over seven percent of all the secondary descendents available in the genealogy for all the respondents. This appears to preclude the possibility that mobile respondents were simply enumerating their descendents more completely than were the others. The fact that almost equal proportions of young and old respondents reported upward mobility also eliminates the possibility that the relationship is actually between knowledge and age rather than knowledge and mobility.

Thus for whatever reasons, the upwardly mobile have a greater propensity to keep track of the descendents of their siblings and first cousins than do the non-mobile. Whether this is a consequence of the incentive provided by the prestige which their higher status affords them for participation in kin affairs, as suggested by Adams and Litwak, cannot be determined by the data available here.^{5,6}

Adams and others have reported that downward mobility seemed to produce an alienation from stratum-of-origin kin.⁷ Findings in the present study are consistent with this observation. Thus, downwardly-mobile respondents were found to know lower proportions of their kin than those whose occupational status was comparable to that of their fathers. The persistence of this alienation from kin is indicated by the fact that parental downward mobility was associated with less knowledge

on the part of respondents. In other words, although parental intergenerational downward mobility is probably usually completed within a relatively short period of time, the estrangement from stratum-of-origin kin which accompanies it must last for decades to reduce the efficiency with which the parents transmit knowledge of kin to their children.

One other relationship reported by Adams and tested here was that between occupational status and the decrease in interaction resulting from residential mobility. Adams argued that white collar individuals should be less prone than blue collar individuals to lose contact with their kin because they interact more through long distance means of communication.⁸ This relationship was supported by the data in the present study, but only for older respondents. The differences in knowledge between residentially mobile and non-mobile white and blue collar individuals were found to be rather small, however.

The relationships found by Adams which were not supported in this study were primarily those concerning differences between white and blue collar individuals in their involvement with kin. Thus no evidence was found indicating that the knowledge of white collar individuals is generally greatest.⁹ Adams also maintained that kin relations among blue collar individuals in his sample were characterized by a relative weakness in cross-sex ties in contrast to white collar kin relations.¹⁰ However, in the present study, the children of female kin--in particular

fathers' sisters--were somewhat more likely to be known to the respondents than were the children of male kin. Adams also conjectured, on the basis of scant evidence, that white collar kin networks would be more complete for ascending generations than blue collar networks.¹¹ Such a difference should certainly be reflected by the proportion of kin known, since knowledge per se is a more significant mode of acquaintance than interaction for distant, elderly, and deceased kin. This difference did not appear in the knowledge data, however.

What these negative findings may well suggest is that Adams' sample manifested some peculiarities in kin involvement which are not characteristic of the entire southern region; or of areas with different migration patterns or ethnic groupings. Adams did not control for ethnicity, beyond restricting his sample to whites. He made no stipulation regarding the number of generations respondents' families had to have lived in the United States. The sample for the present study was, of course, composed of native Americans with no history of immigration on the paternal side for many generations. Whether or not such factors are responsible for the observed differences between the two samples is a subject for further investigation.

Summary

The hypotheses which were supported by the data indicate that female respondents knew more kin and were more

likely to transmit information about kin than were males. Parents were found to serve an important role as connectors to kin also.

Other hypotheses which were supported indicate that same-sex kin were more likely to be known than opposite-sex kin; that upwardly-mobile white collar respondents knew higher proportions of their kin than their stratum-of-origin counterparts, and that both respondent downward mobility and parental downward mobility resulted in less knowledge of kin than for the non-mobile.

The hypotheses which were not supported were those derived from Adams' study regarding some differences between white and blue collar involvement with kin. In addition, two speculative hypotheses concerning the kin knowledge of rural residents and southerners were not supported by the data.

Suggestions for Further Research

One important question left unanswered by this study is that of the relationship between knowledge of kin and involvement with them. A further study could clarify this relationship by examining knowledge as well as the elements of involvement. The latter would include interaction with kin and sentiments related to interaction, such as felt obligation and expressed subjective closeness to kin.

Some other possibilities for research could be realized if limitations inherent in the questionnaire and genealogical data used in the present study were removed.

Taking a given married respondent as the point of reference, these data generally permit the investigation of knowledge of only ego's consanguinal patrilineal kin. Only a very limited amount of information concerning ego's spouse and ego's parents is available. Because of the patrilineal bias, and the fact that disproportionate numbers of males were represented in the sample employed in the present study, it was not possible to fully investigate female knowledge of kin. This is obviously unfortunate because of the acknowledged fact that female knowledge of, and involvement with, kin is considerably greater than that of males. It would therefore be highly desirable to base a similar study on either a matrilineal genealogy, or, preferably, bilateral genealogical data for respondents and their spouses. Such data would permit a more adequate investigation of female knowledge of and involvement with kin, as well as more detailed comparisons between males and females with regard to knowledge and involvement. The former could include an investigation of the effects of social mobility upon female knowledge. The data used in the present study is not adequate for this. Furthermore, in examining the effects of social mobility upon the knowledge of married males, no controls could be applied in the present study for the mobility of spouses. It would be desirable to ascertain to what extent variations in the kinkeeping propensity of females ascribable to social mobility are reflected by variations in the kin knowledge and kin involvement of their husbands.

Footnotes

¹Bert N. Adams, Kinship in an Urban Setting (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1968).

²Ibid., pp. 18-22.

³See J. M. Moge, "Changes in Family Life Experienced by English Workers Moving from Slums to Housing Estates," Marriage and Family Living, Vol. 17 (May, 1955), p. 126.

⁴Adams, op. cit., p. 139.

⁵Ibid., pp. 27-28.

⁶Ibid., pp. 21-22.

⁷Eugene Litwak, "The Use of Extended Family Groups in the Achievement of Social Goals: Some Policy Implications," Social Problems, Vol. 7 (Winter 1959-60), p. 184.

⁸Adams, op. cit., p. 174.

⁹Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 21.

¹¹Ibid., p. 160.

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APPENDICES

Personal History

Your Name _____

Your Wife(s) Name(s) _____

(1) Year Married _____

(2) Year Married _____

Your Children and Their Children:

Name	Residence City-state	Occupation	Birth Date-Place	Death Date-Place
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				

Dear Sir:

For the past two years I have been conducting personal interviews regarding the family. Due to a shortage of time, however, I have had to devise a "short-cut" method of obtaining this information; hence, the enclosed forms (with a self-addressed stamped envelope) and this "standard" letter.

I do hope you can cooperate in this endeavor and when requested I shall gladly share the results of the undertaking with you.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Don Whiteside
Professor of Sociology

/idb

Dear Sir:

A few months ago I sent you a questionnaire through which I hoped to obtain some information about our family. Since I have not heard from you as yet I have taken the liberty to send another form in case you had misplaced the first one. Because our family is scattered throughout the country it is physically impossible for me to visit you personally. Therefore, I have had to resort to a mailed questionnaire to obtain the information I need.

I realize that you are probably busy and that I do ask a great deal to expect you to take time to fill out the forms and return them to me. But the information that you can supply is very important, and your doing so will be very helpful.

For your convenience I have included a self-addressed stamped envelope. Of course, if you have already sent in the forms please simply ignore this letter.

Sincerely,

Don Whiteside
Professor of Sociology

/idb

Your Father's Children and Their Children

Name	Residence city-state	Occupation	Birth date-place	Death date-place
1 (you)				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				
21				
22				
23				

Your Father's Name _____ Address _____

Date of Birth _____ Where (city, state) _____

If Deceased, Date of Death _____ Place of Burial _____

Your Father's Wife(s)

Name	Residence	Birth Date-Place	Death Date-Place
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			
17			
18			
19			
20			
21			

Father's Brothers and Sisters and Their Children

Name	Residence City, State	Occupation	Birth Date	Birth Place	Death Date	Death Place
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22						
23						
24						

Father's Parents

Name	Residence City, State	Occupation	Birth Date Place	Death Date Place
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				
21				
22				
23				
24				

Father's Father's Brothers and Sisters and Their Children

Name	Residence City, State	Occupation	Birth DatePlace	Death DatePlace
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				
21				
22				
23				
24				

Other Kinsmen (Use other side if necessary)

Name	Residence City, State	Occupation	Birth Date, Place	Death Date, Place
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				
21				
22				
23				
24				

Do you have any genealogical data on the family in your possession:

Yes _____

If yes, what kind? _____

No _____

If no, do you know of any collection of such data?

Yes _____

No _____

If Yes, where? _____

Is there anyone in the family who is considered a family historian?

Yes _____

No _____

If yes, Who? _____

Miscellaneous Family Information:

Family Migrations; When and Where?

Any Additional Information (use other side if necessary)

I do not wish to complete the questionnaire for the following reason(s). Please check those that apply).

1. _____ am not very interested in the family
2. _____ do not have the information because _____

3. _____ do not consider it any one else's business
4. _____ do not think we are related
5. _____ am non-white
6. _____ it's too long
7. _____ it's too complicated
8. _____ do not like the approach
9. _____ another relative already has sent in the information
His name is _____

Your name _____

Coding Categories for Respondent Occupation and Region of Residence

Occupation

- 00 no information, unknown or died as child
- 01 managers, directors, and proprietors of large concerns and professionals
- 02 managers and proprietors of small concerns; technical administrative and managerial workers
- 03 responsible white collar workers
- 04 mass white collar workers
- 05 artisans, independent or employed
- 06 skilled workers (including foremen) in manufacturing
- 07 semi-skilled and unskilled workers
- 08 farmers
- 09 housewife
- 10 student
- 11 negative status (bum, in jail, etc)
- 12 not codable (insufficient information)
- 13 child

The occupations represented by categories 01 through 04 are those designated as 'white collar' in this study. Those represented by categories 05 through 07 are the 'blue collar' occupations.

Intergenerational occupational mobility was defined only for those respondents having occupations in categories 01 through 07 whose father's occupations were also in these categories. Mobility was regarded as occurring if father's and respondent's occupations were in different categories.

Region of Residence

0 Overseas (Including Canada)

1 New England

Connecticut	New Hampshire
Maine	Massachusetts
Rhode Island	Vermont

2 Middle Atlantic

New Jersey	New York
Pennsylvania	

3 East North Central

Illinois	Indiana
Michigan	Ohio
Wisconsin	

4 West North Central

Iowa	Nebraska
Kansas	North Dakota
Minnesota	South Dakota
Missouri	

5 South Atlantic

Delaware	North Carolina
District of Columbia	
Florida	South Carolina
Georgia	West Virginia
Maryland	Virginia

6 East and West South Central

Alabama	Mississippi
Arkansas	Oklahoma
Kentucky	Tennessee
Louisiana	Texas

7 Mountain

Colorado	Wyoming
Idaho	Utah
Montana	

8 Pacific

Alaska	New Mexico
Arizona	Washington
California	Oregon
Hawaii	Nevada

9 Unknown

Regions 5 and 6 constitute the southern region discussed in this study.

Computer Processing of the Data

The amount of data which must be processed in this type of study is so great that it requires access to a computer. The specific computer analysis problem posed by this study was that of assessing the kin knowledge of eighty-eight individuals against a criterion genealogy containing more than six thousand cases. Furthermore, the structure of the final criterion data file necessary for determining the proportional knowledge of kin is rather unusual. The creation of such a file therefore requires reasonably sophisticated programming capabilities. The discussion presented below of the various steps necessary for preparation of the data for analysis is only meant to give the reader a reasonable conception of what is involved in creating a final criterion file from two preliminary data files. While it does not tell the reader how to write programs for kin knowledge analysis, this discussion may enable him to avoid some of the more time-consuming problems which can be encountered.

The data used in this study was originally in two separate files. The genealogical file contained information regarding in excess of 6000 descendants of an ancestral Whiteside. The parcel of data or 'record' for each descendent was ordered with respect to all others by a birth-order code which both identified a given individual and also made it

possible to determine the relationship between any two individuals in the same descent group. Thus an individual with the code '123' would be the third child of the second child of the first child of a specified ancestral Whiteside. Furthermore, given two individuals '123' and '138,' one can see from the codes that they are first cousins, i.e., they are both descendents of the same first child.

The questionnaire file was composed of subfiles of records, where each subfile represented the kin known by a given respondent. Each record contained the following information:

- (a) respondent identification number;
- (b) known characteristics of kinsman 'X';
- (c) birth-order code of kinsman 'X.'

The respondent identification number was arbitrarily assigned and therefore was not related to the birth-order code. Also, of course, each subfile contained a record where 'X' was the respondent himself. This record contained a birth-order code for the respondent which made it possible to locate him in the genealogical file. It should also be noted that the characteristics data in the questionnaire file had the same form as the comparable data in the genealogical file.

The final criterion file had to be created using data from both the questionnaire and the genealogical files. Prior to this, it was decided that the respondents' knowledge of kin would be ascertained only for those kin who were within a specified number of degrees of genealogical

removal from the respondent. The following steps were followed in the creation of the new file.

1. For each respondent in the questionnaire file, all admissible kin in the genealogical file were extracted along with required characteristics for each kinsman. These data were placed in a subfile set up for each respondent.

2. A new variable was added to each subfile indicating the relationship of each kinsman to a given respondent.

3. A new variable was added to each record indicating whether or not the kinsman was known by the respondent (as determined from the questionnaire file).

The resulting file was composed of subfiles for each respondent. Each record in a subfile contained the following data:

- (a) respondent identification number;
- (b) respondent characteristics;
- (c) respondent birth order code;
- (d) birth-order code of kinsman 'X';
- (e) kin characteristics;
- (f) a variable for relationship of kinsman 'X' to a given respondent;
- (g) a variable specifying whether or not kinsman 'X' is known by the respondent.

Proportions of kin known were computed using this file. For the purposes of the analysis discussed in the study, such proportions were averaged for groups of respondents. The average proportional kin knowledge of young, rural inhabitants was separately determined, for example.

Such proportions can be computed in two ways. Thus, where ' a_i ' represents the number of kin know, and ' b_j ' represents the number of admissible kin a respondent could have

known, separate proportions can be determined for each respondent and then averaged, using the following formula:

$$P = \Sigma \left(\frac{a_i}{b_j} \right)$$

Proportions were determined in this study with this formula. However, it is much simpler to write a program to determine average proportions where the kin known by all respondents in a class are divided by the kin which could be known. That is, where

$$P = \frac{\Sigma (a_i)}{\Sigma (b_j)}$$

This formula gives a result in which the contribution of each a_i and b_j for each respondent is determined by the absolute magnitude of these quantities. Since such weighting was not considered desirable in this study, this formula was not used in determining average proportions of kin known.

